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ABSTRACT

In this booklet, six essays presented at meetings of the Caribbean American Exchange Program are reprinted: (1) "Externally Propelled Economy" by Lloyd Best; (2) "Ethos for a Black Literature: Cultural Continuities and Patterns" by Martha Cobb; (3) "Parameters of Information and Communication among Afro-Americans and Caribbean Peoples" by Richard Long; (4) "Conceptual Repertoires and Their Communication through Language" by Dennis R. Craig; (5) "Migration to the United States: Some Implication for Caribbean Governments and Their Educators" by Roy S. Bryce LaPorte; and (6) "Information and Economic Development" by Jean Jacques Honorat. (WI)

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This volume is dedicated to the late

Elizabeth Brinton

and

Mariada Bourgin

two gracious ladies whose

persistence, sensitivity, creativity

and courage promoted

a modest idea into a monumental reality

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Foreword

Few events in the world are so distant or so alien that they fail to effect us all. As a consequence, international understanding ceases to be a hackneyed phrase; it is today a fundamental operational concept. To give deeper meaning to the urgency we perceive for increased international understanding, we argue that there now exists an even more imperative need, that of international empathy. It is in that spirit that the Caribbean-American Exchange Program conducted by the Phelps-Stokes Fund was launched in October, 1973: to provide an intimate forum where people with a shared heritage or common interests and concerns could begin to find the route to a genuine and mutual appreciation. The collection of essays, *Caribbean-American Perspectives*, is guided by that sentiment and by our commitment to a growing sensitivity of efforts made by people everywhere to grasp the threads of their destiny and fashion, more usefully, their own fabric of reality, to create and sustain more reasonable and constructive perceptions and assumptions upon which to base their decisions for private and public actions.

Two major principles have guided us these past five years and have enabled the Caribbean-American Program to evolve from a rather meager beginning into an ever-growing community of Caribbean and American friends. The first principle simply asserts that the United States and the various states of the Caribbean have, through individuals and institutions, as much to give as to receive from one another. This assumption promotes equality and rejects superiority; it insures a sharing and a caring community of exchangees.

The second principle advocates the participation of American developing colleges and universities in international cultural and educational exchanges which are multi-disciplinary and multi-ethnic. The program, therefore, deliberately involved many of the more than ninety historically Black institutions of higher learning, most of the recently emerging Native American colleges and several other institutions serving Hispanics, Appalachian and other disadvantaged citizens. As we suspected and worked to insure, the participation of these institutions and of their representatives engendered a special relationship among peoples who share common aspirations of growth and development. Most importantly, the exchange forum became the annual vehicle for convergence of ideas, resources, attitudes, and research. It became the stimulant to mutual respect, trust, confidence, candor, and cooperation. It provided an annual renewal of former ties and talents and an infusion of new blood and additional converts.

Supported by grants-in-aid from the Bureau of Cultural and Educational Affairs of the Department of State, the exchange basically involves twelve Caribbean and American scholars and professionals and lasts two weeks. During the first week, Caribbean participants are individually hosted by a U.S. institution. In the course of their stay, the participants lecture, have exchange of views with students and faculty, and become generally acquainted with a rural, southern, midwestern American, or urban-minority community.

The American participants travel to six countries from which most of their Caribbean colleagues originate: Barbados, the Dominican Republic, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Trinidad/Tobago. Their week-long visit also consists of lectures, seminars, and informal meetings with community leaders, academicians, and government officials.

For both U.S. and Caribbean participants, the second week of the exchange is devoted to a workshop/seminar involving all exchangees. Additionally, resource persons are invited to these workshops to make formal presentations or simply to share in the deliberations. During such proceedings, the selected papers included here were first presented. Over the four-year span there have been dozens of stimulating and scholarly presentations. It was both difficult and painful to choose but six. Many others deserve to be included. This, unfortunately, would have required a larger cash outlay than our fixed budget could accommodate.

For the implementation and growth of an initially modest effort, we have to thank Marie D. Gadsden, Vice President of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and Yves Savain, the Program Coordinator. Their patience, persistence, and resourcefulness have sustained and enhanced the quality and impact of the program.

Our fifth exchange initiates a more significant role for developing institutions, thus fulfilling our original intention to expand and diversify the scope of the program. Under the able coordination of Lorraine Isaac and the continuing involvement and counsel of Marie Gadsden, Meharry Medical College and Southern University-New Orleans now have the shared responsibility for the 1977-78 exchange.

More importantly, we salute, applaud and thank the participants—Caribbean and American. Not only are we grateful to those cited in this publication for offering their own very independent views but also to the many others who have given of their time and skill often long after their initial participation and who continue to keep alive the spirit and purposes of the program through initiatives of their own. Likewise, we commend those resourceful institutions who have understood the global imperatives in our present academic milieu and found ways to support members of staff in participating and promoting the program goals continuously on their local campus and in the wider world community.

Our involvement in the Caribbean has broadened the Phelps-Stokes Fund's traditional, mandated role in "education for human development" with Blacks in Africa and America, Native Americans and poor Whites. Because Africa has always been a most vital and continuous concern, its diaspora with the resulting cultural continuities has been one of our major interests as well. Our work in the Caribbean region which shares with Blacks in the U.S. historical and cultural ties with Africa continues to be an important and necessary element of the Phelps-Stokes Fund mission and goals. Through the dynamics of this program, Indians, Whites, Hispanics and third world constituencies have built their own closely-knit professional and research communities and have propagated the concept within their various institutions to the benefit of many others outside of the actual exchange. These selected papers stand as a clear document of the quality and merit of our five-year effort.

FRANKLIN H. WILLIAMS
President
Phelps-Stokes Fund

Externally Propelled Economy

Lloyd Best

I am going to translate my topic into a very simple headline which I call "Externally Propelled Economy." In the French West Indies, in Martinique and Guadeloupe and Haiti, they call it simply "économie à moteur externe."

But I am not going to attempt any kind of general theory of externally propelled economy. I am not going to get into any ideological issues, partly because it is a very thorny path anyway, partly because I believe that in the end it is futile.

I want to approach this subject of the Caribbean in terms of what the French call "l'histoire raisonnée," reasoned history. I shall try to make a historical interpretation of the Caribbean experience with externally propelled economy, and then allow you to make your own theoretical judgments or interpretations.

In other words, I shall ask the basic questions: How has external propulsion affected the West Indies or shaped the West Indian case? And what concrete illustrations can we find from Trinidad and Tobago where we have this kind of system in motion?

I want to begin at the end, as it were, faith being the substance of things hoped for. So that our interest in this problem is meaningful only because when we look at the Caribbean case today at the end of a 500-year history, we notice certain economic problems which stand out in very bold relief and which continue to preoccupy social scientists, economic planners, governments, and so on.

These are to be found throughout the Caribbean, which I define for this purpose as the Antilles, Greater and Lesser; the littorals of the Caribbean, which is to say the Yucatan coast of Mexico, pockets in Central America, and the coast of Venezuela. Colombia is half way in. All the Guyanas are there and of course northeastern Brazil, with certain pockets of the American South properly belonging in the field.

The reason for this approach will become clear later; but wherever and however one paints the canvas these problems rear their heads, the only possible exception being post-Castro Cuba.

LLOYD BEST is currently the publisher and chief editor of the *Trinidad and Tobago Review* and a guest lecturer at the Institute of International Affairs, University of the West Indies. The text which appears here is a transcript of a presentation delivered at the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad, before the 1975 group of American exchangees.

These problems may, for rough purposes, be bunched under two heads, the first being oligarchy. This oligarchy is not merely an economic elite because there are other faces to it, but from our standpoint this is what is important.

And behind that oligarchy one sees two important phenomena: the first is the large-scale inequality in the distribution of income by race, by occupation, by industry, and by sex. There are many figures on this. I will give you just one or two examples for Trinidad in the contemporary period, from the 1960 census. (It is the last good one we have—the 1970 census was taken at the height of the February Revolution and the results are not reliable.)

In 1960 the median income of Europeans in this country amounted to $500 per month as compared to $133 for Chinese and Syrians, $113 for mixed, $104 for Africans, and $77 for Indians.

I shall look at the same thing by occupation: median income for professional and technical workers is $240; for administrative, managerial, and clerical positions, $189; for service positions, $80; and for agricultural workers, $64; and so on.

On income by strata of the income pyramid, something like 70 percent of the households for 1971-72 were below the national average. The top 10 percent of the income pyramid received something like 38 percent of the total income.

And the data show that the situation has gotten worse between 1957-58 and 1971-72. I don't want to bog you down with statistical details. I simply want to pinpoint that, however you look at it, income is irrationally distributed. And an accompanying phenomenon, a related phenomenon, is large-scale unemployment which, according to official figures, now amounts to 17 percent.

There is a story to be told about the incidence of this unemployment. It falls very largely on the youth and on the women. The rate is more than twice as high among people under 25 as over 25. It also falls unequally by region and to some extent by race and, of course, by occupation since in the high education ranges it is much lower than in the middle ranges.

This is rather surprising because the less education you have, as it were, down on the bottom, the easier it is to get a job. The difficulty lies really with people who go to secondary schools and don't get certificates or get less than average certificates. This is becoming a major problem.

But there is no question at all that there exists an economic elite in the country, and that inequality and unemployment are the pillars on which it rests.

The second thing you will notice is a persistent dependence on the port by all of these economies, the current manifestation of which is large-scale imported inflation. The economy is in a price take-off stage, if you like.

A recent study showed that something like two-thirds of the price increase can be accounted for by imported supply. The manifestations change from time to time, and the manifestations that are pointed to as the most important ones also change from time to time.

Capital shortage is another one that is often talked about, and "technological backwardness." The important thing to see is this persistent dependence of the economy on external factors.

What we are really dealing with here is an economy which is passively incorporated into the world system. I am, in other words, hypothesizing that the world can probably be best understood if we divided it into economic systems which are *actively* incorporated and those which are *passively* incorporated. In the field of prices, that would mean that the active systems make prices, the passive systems take prices.

We can dwell at length on the empirical manifestations of these problems, but I simply want to establish that they exist and are important, number one.

The second point I want to share is that there appears to be a paralysis among the agencies which are responsible for dealing with these problems, since they persist over the course of time.

I think the Trinidad case demonstrates most graphically what I am suggesting. I am urging here that there exists an abundance of resources. In Trinidad this can be seen in terms of excess land. It can be seen in terms of excess labor. It can be seen, if you take certain measures, in terms of excess capital. It can be seen in terms of the existence of a technological backlog.

There are all kinds of things that people know how to do, that the world certainly knows how to do. The information exists, the resources exist, and somehow we are not able to do them. We are unable to translate these possibilities into bricks and mortar, into operations, number one.

Number two, these problems persist and to some extent are getting worse. Certainly that is true in unemployment. Certainly it is true of inequality. The gap is widening inside the country, and it seems not to be moving at all, even in Trinidad and Tobago at a time like now when the major export, petroleum, is doing extremely well. There exist colossal revenues in the country—revenues more than doubled from one year to another. The government is extremely liquid and extremely rich, and it seems not to be able to use so golden an opportunity to make a dent in these problems. There is no prospect of the unemployment rate falling. There is very little prospect of any serious control of the cost of living. And certainly there is no concrete plan that I know of to deal with the problem of inequality.

In addition to the abundance of resources, there are two major institu-

tional changes that one can notice here, one being the emergence of organized labor.

Prior to the 1930s, wage bargaining was not even legitimate. After the disturbances in the 1930s and the decision by the British government in the West Indian territories to grant self-government, the unions came into their own.

And now we have the Oil Workers Trade Union, National Union of Government and Federated Workers, and so on. We have a whole range of extremely powerful, well organized, and rich trade unions.

Most important of all in this period, you witness the emergence of what I call active government. Before that, government in the West Indies never accepted the responsibility for managing the economy, for using the instruments of policy to regulate the level of employment or the cost of living or the distribution of income.

It is only in the last thirty years or so as we moved toward independence and self-government in the British West Indies—and to some extent in the Dutch territories though somewhat less in the French territories—that you have had the emergence of this phenomenon: active government manifested in the publication of five-year plans, and in the colossal increase in the size of the annual budget in recent years.

The present government in Trinidad, for example, has spent $6 billion, luckily manifested by the tremendous increase in state participation. In this country today the state is deeply involved in petroleum. It controls Trintoc which it recently bought out. It has a half share in Trinidad Tesoro, which is another of the oil companies here. It controls a large part of the distribution of petroleum, the national petroleum chain of outlets. All the utilities are government owned: electricity, water, telephones, transportation, communications, and a large slice of the tourist sector including the Hilton Hotel and shares of the Normandie, the Sheraton, and the Holiday Inn. The manufacturing sector has also recently been encroached upon in this way by the state: flour mills, and printing and packaging—a wide range of colossal investments made by the state. The state is now the largest single producer in the country.

We have an active government but at the same time we have a series of problems that persist: unemployment, inequality, dependence. We have labor organized, active, militant, and bargaining. And we have a tremendous abundance of resources in land, in labor, in capital, and the backlog of technology.

And the fundamental question that we are already posing about externally propelled economy in the Caribbean case, with specific reference to Trinidad today, is why this contradiction? Why do these problems persist when on the surface there appears to be the wherewithal for their solution? It is not enough to say that these phenomena are to be witnessed

on the world scene as a whole, because large areas of the world may fall in the same category as the West Indies. I suggest that the Caribbean may be the extreme case of these phenomena.

That is why in a sense it is very important to study it, partly because it is a limiting or pure case of the phenomenon, and partly I suspect because it has the important characteristic of being small. Because the systems are small, you can grasp the thing in its entirety. Many of the planners, policy makers, and commentators keep lamenting the fact that these systems are small. I think it is their greatest single advantage, if only because one can comprehend the whole story at a glance, and also because it is a very pure case of phenomenon.

I also think that important in this consideration may be the fact that our history is short, in the sense that there is no relevant prehistory before the end of the fifteenth century.

So it really is a kind of controlled experiment in society, or the nearest you can get to that in social sciences, and a tremendously powerful case, if we can understand its underpinnings and its particular laws of motion.

I, therefore, wish to shift the focus now away from the problem, away from the possibility I have just identified as springing from active government and organized labor, and instead to turn our gaze toward the historical panorama. Keeping the alliteration, we have problem, possibility, and perspective and, if you like, panorama.

I want to cast your minds back over the short, in terms of human history, span of 500 years and look first at the nature of the enterprise which founded the Caribbean, because I believe that essential clues to the weaknesses we are trying to identify in the contemporary situation are to be found in the empirical facts of the history.

Louis Hartz, who was a scholar at Yale University, noted that all of these new states founded by the "Enterprise of the Indies," which is what Columbus called it when he made the first trip, resulted in what you may call "fragment societies" in that you detached particular fragments from the metropolitan countries of the North Atlantic in the fifteenth century and thereafter, and you brought them into cultural contact with other peoples in new places.

And that is a beautiful story that we really ought to tell fully, but we can't do that on this occasion. I want to tell it only partly by offering you a distinction between three types of societies that came out of the experience.

The first I call colonies of conquest, which are perhaps best exemplified by the Spanish case in Indian or Andean America. Our friend Che Guevara went to Bolivia and in the diary he left behind he said: "When I looked into the eyes of these campesinos, I knew I was not making any contact with a different culture and a different civilization."

And that has led me to insist, in spite of all the orthodoxy on the Left in particular, that the most important thing about Andean Latin America is that it is not Latin. That is the most important thing.

It is really an American civilization on which we have superimposed a Spanish-Iberian fringe, and they call that Latin America. In point of fact, the large majority of the population—in Bolivia, for example—don't speak Spanish today. Today in the 1970s, who speaks Spanish in Guatemala? Not the large majority of the population. They call it Latin America. They are mad. Everybody is Indian, American Indian. Such is the arrogance of the colonizing power.

There was a kind of conquest that took place and they superimposed one civilization on another through a military bureaucracy established there for 300 or 400 or 500 years, and they still haven't touched the foundation of that Trea, Aztec, Mayan, and essentially American order.

That region is not going to be activated properly until such time as the leaders and theorists and planners make a vital contact with theoretical problems of those societies. In terms of economics, the story has got to be told. Instead of calling it a feudal society, importing a concept from medieval Europe, or a capitalist society importing a concept from eighteenth- or nineteenth-century Europe, some set of interpreters has got to make an analysis of that American civilization in its own terms in relation to its structure, its laws of motion, its psychic dimension, and so on. The poets have been doing for a long time what the social scientists refuse to do.

I always tell a story about Mr. Nehru. A journalist once said to Mr. Nehru, complaining about the Indians, "The trouble with these damn Indians is that they don't seem to know that the British have left India."

And Mr. Nehru replied, "I will tell you a better one. The trouble with these damn Indians is that they don't know that the British ever came to India!"

It is the same story in China which, of course, is the extreme case of this. The Europeans made the contact; they sent a fragment of people around the fringes, but they never penetrated the social order. It is true of India; it is true of Indonesia; it is true of China; it is true of Andean America, and so on, and we have to make sense of that story.

But conquest is not our story this morning. That is the first case: "The Colonies of Conquest." The second case is the American case, the North American case, mainly Canada, the United States (West and New England and the old Northwest, perhaps); Brazil to the south, Uruguay. Chile is also part of that story, Argentina, and if we wanted to extend it further afield, Australia, New Zealand, and certain parts of South Africa fall into that category. Hartz dwells on this at length.

And the important thing about all of these situations is that what you

have really done is to transplant a civilization from Rome to Byzantine, that is to say, from one side of the North Atlantic to the other.

These began their lives in much the same way as the Caribbean did or as the Andean civilization did, with certain exclusivist arrangements tying up the new territories to the mother country. They pretty soon got their independence, because the preoccupations of the people in that context were not markedly different from those of the home culture from which they came. And they were soon able to define themselves as settlers in a new place, and that is another kind of story, interesting in its own right. I can't dwell on it. I call them "Colonies of Settlement."

The third case is the Caribbean case and cases similar to the Caribbean, such as Mauritius or Reunion. The important thing about these—I call them "Colonies of Exploitation"—is that neither do you have an indigenous population and culture where you superimpose something from the metropole, nor do you simply transplant people in large numbers and therefore a culture and a civilization from a metropolitan country into a new place.

What you do, in fact, is to set up a controlled experiment in society in that you bring in peoples willy-nilly from all over the place, the indigenous population being exterminated very quickly. You "clear the ground," as it were, and you start fresh. You establish new institutions which you can't borrow from the old place because the mix of population is different, the preoccupations of the society, the reason for being of the society, is markedly different and therefore you are starting fresh, a fresh experiment in society.

That is what distinguishes the Caribbean as an arena of colonization, an arena that contains the American South and the Brighton Northeast. It really is the nearest we have come to this kind of controlled experiment. You bring in a population, a ruling class from the metropole, and then you bring in a working class, or a class of workers, from elsewhere.

These may come over long periods from different places at different times, bearing differing cultures, different languages, and because of these particular characteristics, you have to design very special institutions.

In that context you can understand slavery of the kind that took place in the Caribbean and you can also understand the plantation because if you brought in a set of freemen from Mars they would hardly establish a plantation. I always give the story of the castaway, lionized by the poets and the novelists.

Derek Walcott's castaway comes to the shore, ". . . his eye threading the horizon for the morsel of a sail," and when he doesn't find that sail he turns in despair to the land. And there is a beautiful idyllic story of this castaway who hunts and fells and so on, and who establishes himself on the land and fashions for himself a new culture including agriculture.

He designs, organizes, constructs. He builds a new society so that when those caravels appear on the horizon and more people come into the system, he can enter international trade. It is a beautiful, idyllic story and the economists always used it when I was an undergraduate to tell the story of how economies grew. Of course, the Caribbean case is nothing of the kind.

If you told the real story about Robinson Crusoe as it is told by Defoe in his novel, you will know that Robinson Crusoe had a Man Friday, and he established a society that was stratified. He made Man Friday a hewer of wood and drawer of water, and Defoe has a beautiful passage in which one day he takes Man Friday out into the field and he takes his gun up and shoots a goat; and as the kid collapses on the skyline, Man Friday understands that power comes from the barrel of a gun.

That is another story again, but it is the real story of the Caribbean, because what happens is that you get a society established with at least two classes and a gun between them.

You get a class of planters, merchants, and attorneys on the one hand; and on the other you get a class of slaves—house, field, factory, runaway slaves, and maroons. And there is a yawning gap between them.

These Men Friday are brought in from all over the place; they come from Africa to the west, to the east they come from up-country, down-country. They come speaking this language and that language. Freyre is very rich on that point in his book *Masters and Slaves*.

The only way in which you can get men coming in from outside who are not idyllic Robinson Crusoes but who will plant for export, is to design an institution which robs them of the right of owning property and of making their own decisions. That is why slavery was a necessary institution; that is why the plantation is what Goffman in his book *Asylums* has called a "total institution," which he describes as places like mad houses, hospitals, boarding schools, where inmates are contained and are mortified. These inmates are cut off from their old environment, and they are owned by the staff while they are in these prisons, as all of these total institutions are.

The plantation was that kind of institution. It was thought necessary because if you set men down in a place and they are free men with rights to decide, the first thing they are going to do, as Robinson Crusoe said, is to hunt and fell and clothe themselves and feed themselves and find shelter by their own devices. The one thing they are not going to do is to establish export activity, to sell sugar 3,000 miles away in markets they know nothing about. That is totally irrational. The only way you can get them to do that is to design an institution in which their rights are owned by somebody else.

So the initial situation in the Caribbean is one I call a "Colony of

Exploitation," the purpose of which is to produce staple activity for use in the metropolitan country. This purpose can only be achieved in this kind of situation: designing specific institutions of the kind I have described, the pure case being slavery where we have no rights at all, and a sugar plantation in which all the people's rights are owned by the staff.

And we really ought to understand this problem. We really ought to see how this initial structure of society moved through time to leave a legacy of institutions and habits which we have to deal with in the present.

It may therefore be useful at this point simply to notice that the history thereafter falls into three stages everywhere in the Caribbean, as I have defined it, which of course includes much of the American South though for these purposes we need to distinguish what I call the "island case" from the "mainland case," because there are differences.

In the island case the three stages are roughly divided as follows:

The first comes to an end in the middle of the nineteenth century. The particular date you want to observe depends on your particular preoccupation. You could take 1833 if you are interested in just the change in legal status, or 1838. If you want to look at it from the economic standpoint, you could take 1852 when the sugar duties were finally repealed. Or if you take the French case, you might choose 1848; or in the Puerto Rican case, 1871, and so on. These are always matters of discrimination and judgment for the historians.

But it is quite clear that, speaking on this large canvas of 500 years, in the middle of the nineteenth century the old order collapsed for all kinds of reasons, internal contradictions and differences between the colony and the metropole. The order comes to an end, and I call that the "pure case" of plantation economy and plantation society.

In the West Indian case you then have a hundred years of a kind of long transition which ends with the riots of the 1930s that began in St. Kitts in 1933 and spread all over: to Trinidad in 1937, to Guyana and Jamaica and so on. This brings in a whole new dispensation.

I want to mention only one thing about this second stage, and it is this: that it forces on us the method of treating the Caribbean as a special case. The orthodoxy in the textbooks when dealing with externally propelled economy and the phenomenon of colonization always assumes that the colonial process takes place in the context of an ocean of what they call traditional economy.

You have a sea of peasants who are doing their own thing in Africa or India or somewhere, and then there is an enclave of European activity with what is called high technology, the modern sector, and so on, and this whole process is said to be one in which the modern sector spreads and has an impact on the rest so that you have a lot of nonsense about modernization.

I don't want to go into it in too much detail, but the point I am making here with the Caribbean case is that the orthodoxy doesn't stand the scrutiny of historical investigation. The case that best dramatizes the irrelevance of this modernization approach is the Caribbean case, because the thing about the Caribbean is that there are no enclaves. By definition an enclave is a piece of a larger whole, a segment of a larger entity.

The thing about the Caribbean is that the order is reversed. The so-called traditional sector of local activity doesn't come first; it comes second. It is when the old order of plantation economy collapses that you get for the first time production for local consumption, so it upsets a lot of the textbook theory of so-called economic development.

And, insofar as it is valid in the Caribbean case in a very dramatic and a very pure form, it forces the whole theory to be restated. That is why the Caribbean case is so important. It really shatters this orthodoxy of economics—of economic development being a process by which you bring in these enclave sectors which, like the oceans, wash over the traditional sectors and bring change.

And that is what is important, because in this second period of Caribbean history, after the middle of the nineteenth century, this domestic sector was founded for the first time on some scale.

Of course, it had been anticipated in the past by the maroons who ran away from plantations and started up independent activities. But this sector only achieved legitimation and scale in the nineteenth century.

When the domestic sector came into being, therefore, it came into existence with a legacy of institutions, of habits, of practices, with a psychology and a sociology, all inherited from the past. And many of the contradictions, many of the difficulties, many of the perils of this order can only be understood in terms of that past.

The third stage, which is the contemporary period with the problems that we have noticed at the beginning, is an inheritance from the old order. We can identify its content most meaningfully at this stage, although again very briefly, in terms of a peculiar sociology quite different from any of the orthodoxies.

There is an orthodoxy that looks at social order in terms of racial segmentation, and that in contemporary terms is a Black Power view of the situation, if you want to put it in an oversimplified way.

Then there is another orthodoxy which attempts to interpret the social phenomenon in terms of stratification, class, which is the Marxist way. I don't think the theory of class stands up even in Europe. Marx had a powerful insight into nineteenth century Europe, but the Workers of the World did not fight for the Workers of the World. They fought for the Kaiser and the King in the crucial First World War. The theory of class does not stand up in its own environment. It's been a source of tremendous

confusion in the politics of the Atlantic civilization in the last hundred years or so. It has done a lot of damage and is still doing a lot of damage especially in the Americas—Chile being the most recent case.

The simple theory of race does not stand up either and, as I said before, the thing to which we have to point our intelligence is an empirical understanding of the specific facts of each case. You really have to describe how the society is put together in empirical, practical terms, and allow your theoretical hypotheses to emerge from that. And people don't want to do the work which that entails.

They want creed which is so easy to import. They want to avoid that mortifying process of examining the facts in a specific, cosmic dimension, which only the poets and the novelists are doing.

But when we attempt an investigation, which obviously we can't do seriously here, you will notice both phenomena. You will notice that there is segmentation because to begin with you have Europeans from France or Holland, from England, from Spain; you have Africans from east and west. Later on you get Indians, Muslims, and Hindus from north and south India, black and brown; you get all kinds of complexities. And you also get stratification in that you get house slaves, field slaves, factory slaves, maroons.

All right, you have a stratified order and you have a segmented order, and there is a dynamic here involving certain laws of motion. And you get, of course, color mixing as well; you have a mixture of races and it produces a mosaic of complexity. And, as I said, to make sense of that sociology you really have to go through and describe first, before you interpret and hypothesize.

Secondly, you get a particular kind of politics. The orthodoxy that we import from the countries from which we take our theory assumes that every political system is anchored in the population. And one assumes that the system of government and politics achieves its legitimation from the opinions of the vast majority of sovereign citizens. Well, the Caribbean case is just the opposite, because it derives its legitimation from outside.

When the political system was founded, it was founded by the king who gave letters of patent to a proprietor who appointed a council. And of course he appointed men from the start whom he could control. He does that today.

The political system is legitimated from outside and from the top. And the planters modified it for a while. In the West Indies they established assemblies, but at no point in that game did these assemblies ever comprehend the existence of the vast majority of the slaves of the society, who made up 90 percent of the population. So, although there was some kind of democratic interplay between the planter class in the assemblies that represented them, and the Executive, the Proprietor and the King,

it was a limited kind of interplay that left the vast majority outside the pale. In other words, the political system in the West Indies was born upside down.

And if you were to take the political system through the three stages I am talking about, you would see progressive adaptations of one kind or another, but the fundamental character remains for reasons that I hope will presently become clear. As a system it remains anchored and legitimated at the top.

You might call that Crown Colony Government because the purest form came in the nineteenth century when the Colonial Office, especially in Trinidad, which is a model case, conceived of itself as the holder of the ring. Decisions were made in London—decisions which the planters and the population at large were allowed to play out while they maintained an apparent political neutrality at the top. And therefore the whole concept of government and politics as purely an authority system persists right up to the present day; if you look at Trinidad-Tobago, you see people wanting the Prime Minister to do things for them. They don't think he can be challenged politically. All the time they are protesting, "Why doesn't this man do something for us?" They don't think they have the right to deal with him on equal terms.

The next thing is the economy, which of course was our main concern at the start and which also has its own particular characteristics, the most important being the level of output and income and employment and prices and wages, the patterns of accumulation and investment, the paths of technical progress. All are determined externally, the dominant sector being the export sector, contributing the lion's share to national income, gross domestic product, government revenue, and so on.

It is an old story. The economy revolves around the export sector, and of course Trinidad-Tobago today continues to be an extreme case of that phenomenon.

So what I am saying is that we have come into the contemporary period with a specific legacy, a legacy of social structures, a legacy of political arrangements, a legacy of economic arrangements which are the source of our problems and our possibilities. That is why we can't entertain this nonsense about these countries being underdeveloped.

To talk about the U.S. as developed is, I think, just sheer arrogance. The structures in Barbados are equally deeply implanted, and they are equally developed, but developed to keep people in poverty. That is the difference.

You see, they are developed to keep our population in a passive incorporation in the world system. But if you think that they are new and underdeveloped, you are making a mistake, and you cannot dislodge them if you come with that approach. You must understand that these structures

are deeply implanted in the psyche and in the soil. That is why it is so hard to achieve the programs these governments are trying to achieve, because they are really dealing with fundamental structural arrangements that could only be moved by resources weighty enough to move structures. They can't be adapted or modified by any of the light programs they indulge in, by all the huffing and puffing. This is the inheritance, in the three dimensions I have mentioned, in terms of the sociology, in terms of the politics, and in terms of the economy.

And I leave for last what is perhaps the most important dimension of all, which is the cultural and psychological dimension. I call it the "cultural trap," because it is that dimension that describes the habits of mind, the habits of perception, that go with these institutions and these structures that we have inherited.

So much so that even when people perceive—as the governments obviously do, and the intellectuals, too—the limitations of the structures, whether you look at their sociological face or their political face or their economic face, they are not able to translate that understanding into the kind of insight that can alter structures. I think a very rich illustration of that is Trinidad-Tobago in the contemporary period, beginning at the end of the 1950s when you had the new politics that put into office a national movement with all kinds of hopes and dreams and possibilities, provoking a tremendous response from the population and enjoying enormous material resources. There was an oil boom at the time, just like now. And if you wanted a prescription for rapid transformation of the old colonial structure, that seemed to everyone to be it.

And yet, after nearly two decades of office, we are right where we were. I have given the data on unemployment; the inequality is growing; the dependence is lengthening, and the frustration could not be more widespread.

And you really have to pose the question, "Why?" It seems that the clues lie in the survival of this legacy of structures and institutions, particularly in the survival of what I have elsewhere called "Afro-Saxon" culture.

When I introduced it about ten years ago, I didn't use it as a term of abuse, which is how it is used now. It was merely an attempt to describe quite exactly the framework in which the West Indian psyche was formed, a particular kind of cultural contact between the fragment of rulers who came from the North Atlantic maritime nations on the western shores of Europe, who launched the enterprise of the Indies, and the people they brought in, essentially African peoples. People who use the term Indo-Saxon should notice that I am not describing race relations; what I am describing is a framework of culture into which the Indians, when they

came later, necessarily had to fit. So you also have the very real phenomenon of Afro-Saxon Indians as well.

An Afro-Saxon doesn't have to be an African. No, thank you. He doesn't have to be a European; he could very well be an Indian, or a Syrian. He is any individual in the society who shares the perspectives and values which have come out of that initial social contact, that cultural matrix formed by Europe and Africa in the New World. That's a very exact description of it.

It is important to explore the politics of this culture. It is important to explore the economics of this culture, that is to say, the perception of possibilities, of perils that are perceived by people who belong to this culture, which obviously we can't do at any length. I am just giving you some clues.

I have introduced the notion of "doctor politics" to handle the question of the politics. That term has also come to be one of abuse. That was not my intention. All I was trying to say was that the political system is anchored at the top and a primacy is given to authority as against participation.

In the West Indies, government is politics, and politics almost exclusively is about government. Our people see little distinction between the operations that take place within the corridors of the state and the operations that take place in the wilds of the community, and that there must be parties that bridge those two quite different operations. They are brought together for the purposes of power, but should not be confused.

But one of the legacies of this plantation culture I am talking about in the Caribbean case is that there is this confusion because that's the only experience our people have had for hundreds of years.

And this leads to a certain centralization of politics in the hands of certain authority figures. I will comment on that presently. It really needs to be thought out at length; I can only sum it up in the headline of what I have chosen to call "doctor politics" because in the context of Trinidad-Tobago it expresses itself in terms of the "educational" content of leadership.

It has its counterparts in other Caribbean countries. For example, I have made a distinction between what I call "grammar school doctors," "Sunday school doctors," and "public school doctors." They can come from anywhere, and you have a new category here now because they are going to come from the military soon. I don't know what you are going to call that.

But it really is the so-called "charismatic" personality offering magical solutions. And they bring with them talents and gifts of manipulation of one kind or another which may be given to them either by trade union

activity—you don't have to have any special kind of education—or by formal schooling or by informal breeding.

In nineteenth-century Trinidad, after emancipation, in the second historical phase I have outlined, the only real option available to the population for social mobility was through education.

In Jamaica this was not so much the case. There was enough peasant success for people to emerge from land holding and agriculture. In Barbados and Antigua and St. Kitts, Williams made the point very graphically when he said that on the morning of emancipation the slaves woke up, went to church, praised the Lord, and in the afternoon went back to business as usual.

In the Barbados and St. Kitts cases, at the juncture of emancipation, all the land had already been taken up by the plantations, and therefore there was no chance of anybody getting a piece of ground to get his independence.

So it is no accident that the political leadership in all these countries has emerged from the trade unions. The pattern is no accident in Jamaica where you have both Bustamente and Manley, Manley being a pen-keeper's son coming from that hundred-acre landholding class in Jamaica; Bustamente coming to represent organized labor. In Trinidad-Tobago you have Williams; and in Guyana both Jagan and Burnham have come out of the school system.

In this country we had only the option of achieving mobility through education. We didn't have the option of doing it through landholding on any serious scale, nor did the unions become organized, partly because of the racial segmentation which is so important in Trinidad and Guyana. You have unions, but you can't bring them together.

What I am saying is that to understand the difficulties we are facing in this period, you really have to explore the patterns of politics that come out of this experience, just as you have to explore the social order.

And, of course, Trinidad also richly illustrates the particular economics here, because the national movement came into being on an oil boom with tremendous revenues, a tremendous movement of people.

And at the beginning of the 1960s there was this colossal confrontation between the national movement and the United States of America over the Chaguaramas Base, an issue which is not properly understood and needs to be understood, because what it did was to focus on the choices that all of these countries have with economic transformation.

There are two choices: either they are going to achieve their transformation by facing up to the resources which exist inside the country, or they are going to attempt to perpetuate the dependence and turn it to their material advantage.

And the important thing about Chaguaramas was not that Williams

wanted to put the Americans off the base, because there was no chance of his doing so physically. I have always said that David could never beat Goliath.

It obviously was not a military question; it was not a military question at all. It had a moral and therefore political significance for the simple reason that it focused on issues larger than the material ones and, if pursued, would have forced the population to define its independence in relation to the metropolitan civilization.

If you are fighting the Americans in a battle that you can't win militarily, you are already saying where you are aligned on fundamental questions of international order.

In 1958 and 1959 when Williams raised the question of the American presence in Chaguaramas, he was really saying to the Trinidad population: either we are going to sink or we are going to swim; either we are going to go it alone or we are going to subside back into colonialism.

And the population rallied behind the movement. We were prepared to fight, and this is where the legacy of psychic dependence intervened because inexplicably, suddenly, we made an alliance with the Americans.

I was there; I wasn't living in the country at that stage, but I happened to be here and went to the Square that night. And to the mortification of the multitude, unbelieving of prior reports in the newspaper, their leader announced that we had signed some agreement for $51 million.

So all those people who had been marching and had been mobilized and standing with their heads high suddenly had to put their tails between their legs and go home and tell people that the battle was over—that we had "won."

Everybody was going home sadly, but we had won. Now the importance of this is that it really settled the question as to how the government would function thereafter, both in Trinidad and Tobago; and to the extent that Trinidad-Tobago is the natural leader in the field in the battle for a West Indian nation, it settled the question as to the means by which all of these governments would pursue their economic transformation thereafter.

And you thereafter saw with a vengeance a program of what I have called "industrialization by invitation." The government of Trinidad and Tobago invited me here in the year 1960 to advise them on the Second Five-Year Plan, and as soon as I saw what they were doing, I described it as industrialization by invitation, and that phrase has stuck over the years.

Because what they were saying in fact was that we were going to achieve industrial transformation by borrowing the resources from outside: the enterprise, the technology, the capital, the skills. And this was really a colossal vote of no confidence in the capacity of the population to make its own way.

And I am arguing that underlying this particular Chaguaramas choice and all the other related choices, there is a mechanism of continuity. In other words, I am defining 1959-60s as a crucial historical juncture, what the Marxists call a "crucial point of change" where the choices that you make determine what you can do for a long time thereafter.

The government of Trinidad settled for an industrial program based very largely on external capital. And what has happened in 20 years is that they have reinforced the structures which we inherited from the plantation days.

It was not because of any lack of good will or anything like that. I don't think anybody could have said in regard to the National Movement that it didn't intend to lift the people of our country; that it was not serious, didn't have energy, and so on. That would be absurd.

What is really illustrated here is the peril of the inheritance, the psychological inheritance, of the essential self-contempt brought from the past. Our people have not yet been able to stand up, because obviously it has to be a leap in the dark, and we seem unable to make it.

Our whole population is still living on the continental shelf, hanging onto the coastline along the one road down from Port of Spain to Point Fortin, and the little corridor from Port of Spain to Sangre Grande, while inside the country there is nobody. All the valleys are lying empty, under dead cocoa. The richest land in the country is growing nothing.

There exists a great abundance of materials for building in the country: cement, tar, wood, and so on, which is not being used in spite of a substantial need for housing. Forty-five percent of the households, which is a greater proportion of the population because the households at the bottom are the bigger households, are living in conditions that are substandard. It cannot be explained by any of these foolish things that you read in textbooks about underdevelopment—the technology of building houses. Anybody knows how to build houses. The labor is lying idle, the cement is lying idle, all the material. Why can't we help our population to put up decent housing for all?

There is nothing in the world to stop the government of this country from housing the entire population; yet we are not even attempting to do it. They are totally paralyzed by all of this textbook stuff they are reading in universities in the United States and England, and they cannot move. They are totally blind and they cannot let the country go.

What I am saying is that the mechanism of continuity is, first of all, a pattern of value formation which emerges from these structures that I have described. People talk about the demonstration effect as something sent by God; in fact, there is no demonstration effect. They say that people turn on the television and see American programs and therefore because of that they decide to follow North American values. But it's

nothing of the kind. I mean there are specific structures that determine why people believe like that. In terms of the structure of occupations, if you have Texaco and you have a boss who is an American, and the second boss or the 15th boss or whatever is a Trinidadian who has to move in that milieu, it sets up all kinds of pressures to live in a certain way. It also creates the income for it

So if you want to change the style of living of that man and of his family and his neighbors and the people who are looking at him, you really have to move the underpinnings. You can't simply exhort people by saying that we must do so and so and so. There are specific causes of behavior that can be identified, structures that can be identified, that are sustaining the style of life. That is why you have to make an exact description of the facts.

So, first of all, there is a pattern of value formation that can be witnessed, that can be investigated, that can be documented, and that is real, and stands in the way of people perceiving what are the possibilities for translating the government's programs for change into operation and for winning the population to harder effort.

The values of this society are not imposed, in any sense, by war or by imperial control. Nobody is ordering the society to do anything, but rather I think it is inherent in the structures.

And that is where the Left is making a big mistake, because a lot of the rhetoric of the Left is arguing as if these values are imposed by force, and perhaps that is why we cannot deal with them—it's tilting at windmills.

This is a much more complex phenomenon that is inherent in structures, values, that are subliminal. We are not dealing with real problems. You must describe the facts as they are and deal with them. You cannot import a rhetoric.

Imperialism is not a Leninist phenomenon. For one thing, it predated Lenin. I've heard the Marxists argue to my mortification that imperialism is a nineteenth-century phenomenon, because they fall into the Leninist trap of treating imperialism as a result of the need of monopoly capital to export capital and to find markets.

But Rome existed before that imperial phenomenon and the West Indies existed before the Industrial Revolution. If there is such a thing as a pure proletariat, it existed in these plantations in the seventeenth century. The slaves had nothing. They did not even have their labor to sell. That *is* a pure case. So you really have to deal with imperialism as a much more serious phenomenon.

You have to deal with the pattern of value formation that is going on, and you have to deal with the psychic dimension which is much more elusive. And you have to deal with the stratification, the segmentation, the centralization of power.

It makes sense. It all makes a piece. You see, it is not simple. It is not enough to say that it is being imposed.

It really is that people get gratification and gains, material and psychic, from the continuation of this, and you have to identify who these people are. It is not enough to say the ruling class or the bourgeoisie; you have to identify specifically who these people are, the content of the oligarchy. I have said that the oligarchy in this particular country contains professionals, it contains political people, it contains business people, and it also contains trade unionists.

You have to describe, you have to look at the gratification the people are getting. I didn't say gains, you see. The thing about the Marxist exposition is that it describes this solely in terms of material gain, but people get gratifications which are not material gains.

If we are going to deal with this phenomenon of self-perpetuation of the old order, we really have to identify empirically the structures and institutions which lay at the base of the order, their manifestations in terms of patterns of behavior, in terms of the politics, in terms of the sociology, in terms of the economics.

And we have to identify specific groups of individuals—classes, if you like, if you want to generalize the Marxist thing and get out of this trap of defining classes in terms of the specific European situation where you can talk about proletariat and bourgeoisie and so on.

But if you have the notion of groups that have different interests, if this is what you mean by a class, then you have to look at the classes and see which groups or which classes or which interests are getting gratifications and gains from the perpetuation of the order.

I am saying that the solution is not a formula of any kind; it can't be a formula of any kind because the critical thing really in mobilization of people, as Marx said, is consciousness.

Marx tried to solve the problem with the notion of class consciousness, in the sense that we know that term. But I think that the epistemology is much more complex than that. We have to admit that nobody knows how consciousness is formed.

If we knew how consciousness is formed, we would be God; then we would form the consciousness to suit ourselves, and then we would be the Devil.

So you really have to do what I call "play for change." You really have to have the ability to understand that you are making a leap in the dark. You know that there are certain kinds of enterprises which win a commitment from people.

There are certain kinds of activities which win sustained commitment and you have to play with them. But you can only play with them if you understand what you are breaking from, so you must do the historical

work. That is what Marx tried to do in Europe, you see. He tried to describe it as exactly as he could, how the social structure worked in the middle of the nineteenth century and the laws of motion that governed it.

And I could see why he ended up with his particular theory of class, because he was describing a situation where the average working class of proletarian persons in England at the time went to work in a factory at the age of 7 or 8 and lived perhaps to the age of 29 or 30. If a man lived to the age of 40, that was a lot at that time. And his entire existence would be encompassed by that factory environment. He would never travel in his lifetime, not even a mile or two beyond where he lived.

So you can appreciate an hypothesis which says that political consciousness was formed by factory life. And therefore you could see how, extrapolating from that, you could say that all those people who are brought up in those psychological and social and economic conditions could form a class with the same consciousness to break out of their chains.

It made a lot of sense. It was wrong, in the final analysis, because the human personality is more complex than that, and also the institutions were changing. Child labor broke down, people moved out of the environment, and then the lines began to get blurred. But you can see that Karl Marx was an intelligent man in his context in that he offered that hypothesis.

I am saying that what you need to do in our context is the same kind of thing, which would be completely un-Marxist in that you really have to sit down and try to identify empirically the factors that impinge on the formation of consciousness; having a little more humility than Marx, having gained enough from his experience to know that you could never make a theory which is going to be 100 percent accurate or even nearly that. It has to be a praxis that you alter from time to time.

So that is the first thing. There is no formula. It has to be a leap in the dark, and you have to play for change. That is the first thing.

The second thing is why are you playing for change? To do what? To achieve what? Not in a vacuum. I think that that answer must also be very clear. It is the critical bottleneck here, the critical scarcity is really the view of self. That is what we are trying to change.

You could have as much participation as you like, as I showed you we have here. The State could own as much as it likes. You can be as rich as you like, have as many material resources as you like. You can get political independence a hundred times over, a thousand times over. None of these is important.

That is why the textbooks are so confusing because they are looking at all of these symptomatic variables, you see. We are really trying to create a situation in which these populations are going to recover their manhood, their self-confidence, their capacity to stop fixing their gaze on

what is happening in New York and thinking that it is better because these countries are developed countries while we are only developing ones.

It is a lot of nonsense. Every time you turn on the radio—I am afraid to let my children hear the radio—all these political leaders are talking about developing countries and developed countries.

And the children are growing up with that idea in their minds, so the dice are loaded before you begin. And the first thing is that all of these colonial countries have got to recover their self-confidence and to see that they are no less developed than anybody else.

In other words, you need to do what the religious orders always do. When they take a candidate in the raw to go into the priesthood or the nunnery, there is a period of mortification in which you have to kill off the old self and be born again.

So in a sense what I am saying—in a sense I am talking as an economist, and I want to disavow everything that the economists stand for. I think it is the most backward profession in the world. They have all of these simple formulas which are simply offering quantities, statistics, and so on, and material interpretations. But the change we are looking for has to be a religious one. It really has to be with the soul of man.

You really have to build on the edifice of the economic structures a kind of story I have tried to recount here this morning, which shows you the almost incestuous connections between sociology and politics and psychology.

All of these problems of unemployment and inequality are obviously soluble materially, but the reason why we can't solve them is that we have not been able to uncork that spirit. And I don't know how we are going to uncork it, but uncork it we will, one of these days.

Thank you very much.

Ethos for a Black Literature: Cultural Continuities and Patterns

Martha Cobb

I.

In this study I propose inquiring into the origins and continuities of certain patterns in Black literature that tend to confirm the unity of ethnic experiences generated by the slave diaspora and sustained up to the present wherever strong Black societies have maintained themselves in the Americas. Those who are already concerned with this area of research have coined such terms as the Black Experience, Negritude, the African Presence, Antillanity, and of course Pan-Africanism, to name just a few expressions suggesting a unified cultural core. The concept is a fascinating one: that of a shared experience common to peoples of African blood and heritage which has developed into a unique and distinguishable culture. Its commonality of character and expression and its guiding principles define it in the twentieth century in terms of Blackness or Africanity, as distinctive from, yet contributing to, Occidental culture. Out of this thinking has come, on the one hand, the idea of a Black esthetic whose dimensions are primarily artistic. On the other hand, however, there are still concessions to the argument of the fragmentation of Black peoples, the loss of a cultural identity. Here the issue is often debated by historians, sociologists, and political scientists in the terminology of cultural pluralism, resistance, and amalgam.

In any case, it is not my intention to settle the debate, but to point out that the consciously produced Black literature by modern writers has its roots in the earlier ethos of unstudied folk artistry, which suggests an instrument for defining the nature of Black literature in the Caribbean and the two American continents. Notwithstanding geographic distances, the differences in languages (English, Spanish, French, Portuguese, and Dutch), and the contingencies of time, I propose concentrating on intrinsic analogies, such as those appearing in literature, as a means of verifying correspondences rather than assuming them. These correspondences among Black peoples, if proven, should furnish significant keys to concepts of ethnic Black unity in spite of the rupture of slavery and its consequences.

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The conception of a shared Black experience emerges conjointly in the islands of the Caribbean and in North and South America. Variances in cultural development can be mainly attributed to language differences, already noted, and in religious affiliations which are predominantly Protestant in North America and in the English-speaking islands of the Caribbean, whereas they are Catholic in the French-speaking and Spanish-speaking countries and in Brazil. Another differentiating factor which has significantly contributed to the social stratification within Black communities during and after slavery involves Europe's own racial attitudes that led to what we can call an Anglo-Saxon stance of hypocrisy in the more intimate areas of human relationships in English-speaking countries that was distinctive from the Spanish/French/Portuguese colonial master-slave, male-female relationships, where a more openly acknowledged mixing of the races took place. And undoubtedly, but to a lesser extent, different forms of government played a role in developing divergent aspects of Black culture, but it is certain that to most Blacks there was little difference to be found in the governments they lived under so long as they were enslaved, exploited, and suffering under the daily reality of racism.

It is evident from my approach here that, first, I do not see literature as developing in a void; nor do I see it as Art with a capital A, unrelated to the existential reality of people's lives. For Black people, as for any other people, literature reflects and interprets the society that produces it, projecting the communal wisdom of a culture, its ideals of peace and war, the community's hero-images, its woman-images, its social images, in the end the values which determine its history. Secondly, I am postulating a literary history which embraces the ethnic unity of the Caribbean, and which in the historical extensions of Black settlements in the New World includes the United States and those South American countries where slave societies existed. Inevitably, in determining the constants of a given literary history one discovers the seeds of a literary theory. We need only be reminded that the parameters of Occidental literary history include the Roman conquest of Britain, Gaul, Spain, the Germanic countries, and the subsequent transformations of indigenous languages into a vulgar, or common people's Latin, as opposed to the elite, classic language of the intellectuals in the Roman capital—comparable, I suggest, to the "creolization" processes that affected the languages of both slaves and masters during the colonial epoch of the Caribbean and the two American continents.

Continuing this analogy, we see in a developing Black literature a process not unlike the transformations, fusions, and modifications of indigenous European tribal cultures with the Latin (more aptly, the Mediterranean) cultural hegemony, which infused Judeo-Christian and Greek tra-

ditions into the European bloodstreams, to produce what Ernst Robert Curtius calls the *topoi* of the Latin Middle Ages.[1] These "commonplaces" later flowered in the European Renaissance and contributed to the modern unity of a Western literary history defined today by theories that include a commonality of themes and a progression of literary periods and styles within the diverseness of French, Spanish, English, Italian, German, and other national cultures that we accept as belonging to a Western literary tradition.

In this connection, Richard Long's presidential address to the College Language Association in 1970 underscored the necessity of Black scholars addressing themselves to the "international dimensions of Black studies," of extending the scope of scholarly inquiries beyond "this (United States) branch of the diaspora."[2] He proposes two principles in teaching and research, "one the diachronic principle of the African continuum; the other, the synchronic principle of the African extension." Accordingly, the diachronic principle rests on the historical fact of the diaspora emanating from Africa wherein African peoples have carried out of the continent cultural modes of expression that constitute, as Long states it, "a viable nexus of Black culture, one of the major traditions of humanity." The synchronic principle deals with the concurrence of African-based cultures interacting with those of the West wherever Africans encountered Europeans and Americans. Black studies, then, embraces the concept of a cultural Pan-Africanism which earlier scholars, writers, and those concerned with social action—W.E.B. DuBois, Carter G. Woodson, Marcus Garvey, to name a few—had also envisioned.

Thus in establishing a literary identity as one aspect of Black studies, investigators need to take serious account of Black writers in other parts of the Americas who express a racially oriented vision of reality. What, we might ask, do we in the United States have in common with them? What themes and images appear in the writing of the Caribbean that we recognize as part of our own reality? And what base constitutes the ethos of Black writing across disparate languages, geographic landscapes, and national affiliations?

In the search for cultural continuities and corresponding literary patterns that link a Black esthetic, I propose two approaches. The first focuses on oral cultures in the African tradition that survived the rupture of transplantation and reappeared in slave communities as diverse as those of eighteenth and nineteenth century Uruguay, Cuba, Haiti, Colombia, Santo Domingo, as well as in the United States. The second approach is to link these residuals of African oral traditions to written literature, taking into account those writers of the twentieth century who have consciously sought to reflect and interpret a racial ethos in the presentation of themes

and images, and in the choice of language forms that are distinctively Black.

Stephen Henderson rightly draws attention to the *continuity* and the *wholeness* (his italics) of the Black poetic tradition in the United States, suggesting its interaction on two levels, the oral and the written.[3] I would simply add that this oral/written tradition has also maintained itself outside of the United States, in other countries of the slave diaspora. Henderson's call for a critical frame based on Black speech and Black music as poetic reference further emphasizes the totality of a Black experience, transmitted through literature, that appears in countries of the Caribbean and in South America.

Another critical statement applicable to the kind of comparative study undertaken here comes from Wellek and Warren, in which the authors note that folklorists in the European field "have increasingly turned their attention to the study of patterns, forms, and devices, to a morphology of literary forms, to the problems of the teller and narrator and the audience of a tale, and have thus prepared the way for a close integration of their studies into a general conception of literary scholarship."[4] Although in another sentence Wellek and Warren state that "'comparative literature' is hardly the term by which to designate the study of oral literature" (again in reference to European literary studies), they appear to contradict that observation with the following statement, which is relevant to this essay: "Though study of oral literature has its own peculiar problems, those of transmission and social setting, its fundamental problems, without doubt, are shared with written literature; and there is a continuity between oral and written literature which has never been interrupted."[5]

In still another statement the same authors refer to the "migration" of folk-tale themes, the "how" and "when" of their entrance into written literature. We must remember, however, that those folklore problems of European literature are not necessarily applicable to Black literature. For one reason, what we can loosely term "folk culture" among Blacks—urban and rural—is still alive (though changing) in the oral traditions of music, rhetoric and "rap," Black speech idiom and vernacular, sermons, and so on. The researcher, armed with a tape recorder, can still travel among Black people in Africa and the United States, in countries as large as Brazil, as small as Haiti, to transcribe the stages in the progression of the word from the sound sensorium of oral performance to the visual demands of the printed page.[6] For another reason, history is inseparable from the culture out of which literary developments come. In this context, the very nature of slavery, racism, and the consequences of both (economic, political, and human) in the historical processes, have served to maintain the distinguishing language, character, and style of oral cultures among Black people.

By oral cultures I mean the techniques of expression central to African peoples' history, community values, entertainment, and connected in a substantial degree with religion and philosophy. Verbal techniques of oral art are embodied in a concrete speaker-audience relationship via the reciter of epics, the griots, the talking drums, the formulaic recitation of history, the ritual dramas of religion, and in general the "bards, drummers, and cymbalists" of kings and rulers, this last item pointed out by the Reverend Samuel Johnson in *The History of the Yorubas*.[7] Conversely, what Africans confronted when they arrived on American shores was a literary tradition brought from Europe with its own expressive techniques based on the increasing use of the written word. It emphasized the visual, the static, and the symbols of language in a linear progression contained by a defined space (printed page) as opposed to the freedom of the human voice to extend itself for as far as the speaker's breath control and requirements of style and subject matter would allow. Hence in the evolution of European literature "voice" was ultimately confined and abstractly communicated; the simultaneity of sound, music and movement organized in the concreteness of direct communication to an audience was gradually disappearing as a literary mode of expression.

We bear in mind, of course, that Europeans had their own epic and bardic traditions, a history of singing troubadours who preserved the mythic, the legendary, the historic within an oral cultural frame. Father Ong, who has done important research into the nature of oral-aural traditions in relation to literature as manifest in many world cultures, sees the fifteenth century as marking the demise of Europe's lingering oral culture. In that century manuscript writing based on the alphabet (itself not of European origin) gave way to the printing press, commonly assumed to have been invented in Europe about 1440, though the Chinese were the first known printers (about 770 A.D.). It appears to me no accident that the fifteenth century also marks the beginning of the era of expanding traffic in chattel slavery from Africa to the New World, leaving little doubt of the importance of swift language communication to the building of empires.

When Africans arrived in the Americas, one of the first and most carefully regulated interdictions was that which prohibited their learning to read and write. Looking back from the vantage point of the twentieth century, I suggest a two-fold outcome not totally negative to a Black literary tradition. First, slaves continued to rely on oral traditions from Africa as they recalled and handed down stories and proverbs, some of them retaining traditional characters in African tales. Secondly, they were forced to depend on the ear even as they acquired English, French or Spanish. Thus they grasped and transmitted the sonority of Old Testament stories (United States); they improvised their own versions of what they

heard; they took possession of the new languages they were compelled to learn by ear, and gave to French, English, and Spanish their own cadences, embellishments, and a style which writers like Paul Laurence Dunbar, Langston Hughes and Sterling Brown captured on the printed page in the United States, and in the non English-speaking countries Nicolás Guilleén (Cuba), Adalberto Ortiz (Ecuador), Nicomedes Santa-Cruz (Peru), Jacques Roumain and F. Morisseau-Leroy (Haiti) have done equally as effectively. In Spanish and Francophone cultures, slave societies began to blend that which was African to the pageantry and color of Roman Catholic liturgy and church processions. Furthermore, in these countries drums (prohibited in the United States) were reconstructed by slaves with materials of the New World, and used in a blend of African rhythms modified by New World experiences. The sounds and rhythms of these drums will reappear in literature. In the United States, rhythmic hand-clapping, foot-tapping would have to serve as substitutes for the drums.

One of the best arguments for residual Africanisms, if such arguments are even necessary, is that slaves, already oriented to oral-aural traditions and prohibited from reading and writing, had to depend on their own resources for entertainment, for religious services disapproved of by their masters, for the expression of their own humanity under the burden of slavery. Sterling Stuckey, in an article appearing in *The Massachusetts Review*, 1968, states the case well.

> My thesis, which rests on an examination of folk songs and tales, is that slaves were able to fashion a life style and set of values—an ethos— which prevented them from being imprisoned altogether by the definitions which a larger society sought to impose. This ethos was an amalgam of Africanisms and New World elements which helped slaves, in Guy Johnson's words, "feel their way along the course of American slavery, enabling them to endure . . ."[8]

In Cuba, Fernando Ortiz was a major investigator of the transplantation of African cultural elements I have referred to, particularly as they affected music, literature, theater and dance. As ethnologist he published such books as *Glosario de afronegrismos* (1924); *La Africanía de la música folklorica de Cuba* (1950); *Los bailes y el teatro de los negros en el folklore de Cuba* (1951) and many others. Jean Price-Mars in Haiti was educator, writer, ethnologist who performed a similar service in the publication of *Ainsi parla l'oncle* (1928) in which he traces local customs representative of African survivals, including the Creole language, that he urged Haitian artists and writers to employ in their works. Jacques Roumain, poet, novelist, short-story writer, was also anthropologist and ethnologist who not only made his own investigations into Haitian culture and published his findings, but he also took Price-Mars' appeal seriously in his use of

Afro-Haitian culture as material for the poetry and prose he wrote. In the United States many names can be cited, but attention should be drawn again to Sterling Brown in his long and insistent campaign for according respect to the oral folk literature and musical forms whose devices, as well as themes, were transformed and transmitted to the printed page.

Now let us direct our attention to samplings from early oral poetic expression recorded in diverse countries and for which we will find in later literature analogous forms, themes—above all a style—as part of a Black tradition. In the United States, auditory and visual imagery combined with elements of improvisation to make statements, to depict a concrete reality, to sing praises (of a woman, a heroic figure, of bold action, of the hereafter, etc.), to "gripe" (social protest?)—however indirectly, wittily, ironically—against specific burdens of Black life conditions, and to express aspirations for a better future. Invariably, a sense of "voice," of speaker-audience relationship, of the performing power of the word, comes through clearly. In referring to what is primarily a synthesis of sounds that suggest responses, movement, music, Father Ong calls the total expression "word as event." In contemporary parlance we may indeed call it the word as a happening. Following the United States, I will demonstrate samplings that reveal similar elements from other countries where Black populations settled in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries.[9] Thus:

Oh, the lightnin' flashin' an' the thunder rollin',
rollin', rollin', (3 times)
Lawd, I know my time ain't long; Lawd, I know my
time ain't long.

Ask me to de table, thought I'd take a seat,
First thing I seed wus big chunk o' meat.

This ole ship is a reelin' an' a rockin'
This ole ship is a reelin' an' a rockin', rockin',
rockin',
Makin' fer de promise lan'.

King Jesus is a ridin' an' you can't stay away . . .

Clothes all dirty, aint' got no broom;
Ole dirty clothes all hangin' in de room.

Git up in mornin' when ding-dong rings,
Look on table, same ole things.

Brown-skin woman, she chocolate to de bone.

Me'n my pahdner an' two'r three mo'
Goin' raise hell 'round pay car do'.

I'm out in de wide worl' alone.

No need, babe, trying' to throw me down,
Cause I'm po' boy jus' come to town.

Some o' dese mornin's bright an' fair,
Gwine to hitch my wings an' try de air.

I hate to hear my honey call my name,
Call me so lonesome an' sad.

God told Noah 'bout de rainbow sign,
  Lawd, didn't it rain?
No more water but fire nex' time,
  Oh, didn't it rain? Halleluyer!

I got a little black woman, honey, name is Mary Lou;
Treats me better, honey, heap better'n you.

Captain, captain, how can it be,
Whistles keep blowin', you keep a-workin' me?

Heard a mighty rumblin' in de sky,
Mus' be my Lord a passin' by.

If God was to call me I would not care—um-u
For he done move away my fears—um-u.
I'm goin' to heaven, an' I'm goin' fo' long—um-u,
All don't see me will hear my song—um-u.

In *Army Life in a Black Regiment*, Thomas Wentworth Higginson noted and recorded the songs he heard improvised and sung by the First South Carolina Volunteers which he commanded—"the first slave regiment mustered into the service of the United States during the civil war," among them,

In de mornin'
In de mornin'
Chil'en? Yes, my Lord!
Don't you hear de trumpet sound?
If I had-a died when I was young,
I never would had de race for run.
Don't you hear de trumpet sound?

or a marching song

My army cross over,
My army cross over,
O, Pharaoh's army drownded!
My army cross over.

and one that looked toward freedom in its rejection of slave rations,

No more peck o' corn for me,
No more, no more,—
No more peck o' corn for me,
Many tousand go.

W.E.B. DuBois recalls the song his grandfather heard his slave grandmother sing in the cold valley of northern lands where she had been deposited by a slave trader,

Do bana coba, gene me, gene me!
Do bana coba, gene me, gene me!
Ben d'nuli, nuli, nuli, nuli, ben d'le.

suggesting, as he heard the song handed down in the family, that "this was primitive African music; it may be seen in larger form in the strange chant which heralds 'The Coming of John',"

You may bury me in the East,
You may bury me in the West,
But I'll hear the trumpet sound in that morning . . .

and which DuBois calls "the voice of exile."

Sterling Brown in a chapter on "Folk Literature" in *The Negro Caravan* analyzes poetic creativity from the perspectives of spirituals, slave seculars, work songs, social songs, songs of protest, the blues and ballads, that produced such lines as,

De blind man stood on de road, and cried
Crying Lord, my Lord, save-a po' me.

I'm gonna tell God all my troubles,
When I get home . . .

Naught's a naught, figger's a figger,
All fo' de white man, an' none fo' de nigger.

If I'd had —hunh—
My weight in lime—
I'd a-whupped my captain—
Till he went stone-blind.

De 219 took my baby away
219 took my baby away
217 bring her back someday.

A good-looking woman make a cow forget her calf . . .

Comparable patterns in the oral tradition have been collected in Spanish and French speaking countries.[10] Improvisational elements differ from those in the United States to the degree that language devices employ more Africanisms in "shouts," call-and-response, and in the vestigials of African languages blended into Spanish—particularly vowel sounds—and the French Creole idiom. We will also note that many rhythms tend to be associated with a percussive beat—the culture of the drums so prevalent in Latin American countries, and with dances and marching verse used in the *comparsas* that reflect the syncretism of the African with the European cultures, particularly in connection with the Catholic Church and Yoruba liturgicals and rituals. Incantatory language, which does not appear to any great degree in the United States, is a distinctive element of the Latin countries, calling attention again to religious syncretism: the Catholic Church with Afro-Cuban Santería and Haitian Voudou, for example. Thematically, Black people in the Spanish and French speaking countries expressed their perceptions of reality, cried out against slavery, and asserted their humanity in imaginative statements about work, religion, women, much the same as in the United States. Here are a few drawn from different countries:

CUBA

(Negrita)
—¡Mamita, mamita!
Yen, yen, yen.
¡Culebra me pica!
Yen, yen, yen.
¡Culebra me come!
Yen, yen, yen,
¡Me pica, me traga!
Yen, yen, yen.
(Diablito)
—¡Mentira, mi negra!
Yen, yen, yen.
Son juego e mi tierra.
Yen, Yen, yen.
(Negrita)
—Le mira los ojos
parecen candela! . . .
Le mira los dientes
paresen alfileres!

Coro
Neglu Vetelanu
Atenció la uficiá
Y liaendú a la clagá
Lipundela a ela vá.

HAITI

Work Song (Creole)
A té
M'ap mandé qui moune
Qui en de dans caille lá
Compè répond:
Assez-é

Mouin en dedans déjà
En l'ai—oh!
Nan point taureau
Passé taureau
En l'ai, oh.

ARGENTINA
Me gusta ver a mi negro
cuando se pone corbata
parece mosca en la leche
que se ha perdido en la nata.

SANTO DOMINGO
Negro, no te pongas bravo
porque te digan ladrón,
que los blancos también roban
cuando tienen la ocasión

VENEZUELA
Negra fue Santa Efigenía
la madre de San Benito;
negros fueron los tres clavos
con que clavaron a Cristo.

Song for the candombe—
Oyé, yé,
Yum bam bé.
Hé-é-é,
hé-é-é.
María y curumbamba,
María incurumbé!
Hé-é-é.
Yum bam bé.

URGUAY
Solo
Quiero ser libre
pues libre nací
y no conocí
más amo que Dios.
El blanco orgulloso
con brazo inhumano
castiga a su hermano
cual bestia feroz

CUBA
Canto para toque de rumba—
¡Manguí, Mangué!
Si son manguito
echámelo aquí;
mi Federiquito
no son pa tí
Manguí, manguito,
mi chiribiriquito
quié lo iba a desí:
que eso manguito
no son pa tí.

URUGUAY
Poetic form of candombe dance:
Solista: ¡Calunga, gué!
Coro: Oyé, yé yumba.

La mujer que por locura
tiene un negro por amante,
aunque el sol este radiante
siempre ve la casa oscura.

COLOMBIA
El sol se prendí de mí
y por eso soy morena.
Soy codiciable por eso:
por mi color, y por buena.

MARCHING SONG
Semu reglu lindu
Semu vetelany
Y cum milicianu
Quiliem piliá
Pué salí haci juegu
Y fuergu avanzandu,
Y mulí liliandu
Pu la livetá.

Coro
Cállate moreno
te digo,
déjate de hablar;
si el amo te oye,
¡caramba!
te va a castigar

O Sainte Vierge, au nom des saints de la terre, au nom des saints de la lune, au nom des saints des étoiles, au nom des saints du vent, au nom des saints des tempêtes, protège, je t'en prie, s'il te plaît, mon garçon en pays étranger, o Maître des Carrefours, ouvre-lui un chemin sans dangers. Amen.

Papa Legba, l'ouvri barriè-a pou nous, ago yé!
Atibon Legba, ah l'ouvri barriè-a pou nous, pou nous passer

Lo n'a entré, n'a remercié loa yo.

Assez de chagrin, t'en prie maman, depuis ce jour d'aujourd' hui, je suis icitte pour le restant de ma vie . . .

Sauf vot' respect, le proverbe dit: "Pisseé qui gaillié, pas cumin," mais le tonnerre me fende en deux, si tun n'es pas un nègre bien planté.

Ah, maman, tu es ruseuse, oui . . .

II.

The migration of popular folk art into written literature through the conscious efforts of Black artists recovering their past and redefining their racial presence took its first significant steps in the second decade of the twentieth century. I shall designate the Harlem (or Negro) Renaissance in the United States as a watershed dividing artistic use of folk materials from previous rather general neglect. This is not to overlook in any way the pioneer work done by Paul Laurence Dunbar and others, like the Fisk Jubilee Singers or Charles W. Chestnutt's use of folk themes, and

the early writing of James Weldon Johnson and W. E. B. DuBois whose literary trajectories precede the Harlem Renaissance, interact with it, and extend beyond. The intent, rather, is to place a marker at a point where we can observe, after the first World War, the artistic ferment generated by writers, musicians, artists, whose works in the course of time were to influence others in interpreting the world of Black experience.

What I shall attempt, therefore, is a brief comparative study that focuses on three writers of the Americas who introduced forms, themes and images of Black oral culture into their written works, and whose literary productivity is associated with the flowering of the Harlem Renaissance. The writers are Langston Hughes of the United States, Nicolás Guillén of Cuba, and Jacques Roumain of Haiti. Born in the first decade of the twentieth century, each of them—descendants of slaves, inheritors of a mixed African/European/American culture that was English speaking, Spanish speaking, French speaking respectively—represents a transition stage in the history of Black writing wherein the accommodation to and assimilation of European literary styles was giving way to forms and techniques suitable for interpreting Black life. Thus each was selected not only because his works subsumed an oral-based culture, but also because the consciously affirmed values that permeate their writings reveal the coming of age of a Black literature.

It is important to note also that Hughes, Guillén, and Roumain eventually met each other in their travels and shared common attitudes and insights related to racial experiences which they use as the material of their writing. Hughes, who knew both Spanish and French, and Roumain, who knew Spanish and English, translated some of each other's writings and those of Nicolás Guillén. In the sequential development of a Black literature, Hughes was the first innovator among the three, with the publication of *The Weary Blues* (1926). During the years that followed, Hughes's influence, associated with the Harlem Renaissance, was an important factor in the writing of Guillén and Roumain, as well as other writers in the Caribbean and South American countries.

Langston Hughes's ear for the sounds of the urban milieu was essential in the formation of his poetic tastes. In his first autobiography, *The Big Sea*, he writes about his early responses to Black life that he observed in Washington, D.C.: "I tried to write poems like the songs they sang on Seventh Street—gay songs, because you had to be gay or die; sad songs, because you couldn't help being sad sometimes. But gay or sad, you kept on living and you kept on going. Their songs—those of Seventh Street—had the pulse beat of people who keep on going." Further on he says: "And I went to their churches and heard the tambourines play and the little tinkling bells of the triangles adorn the gay shouting tunes that sent sisters dancing down the aisles for joy."[11]

Similarly, Nicolás Guillén stated in a newspaper interview that he wanted to convey "the vigorous Negro flavor" in his poetry. He amplifies further, "My purpose has been to present . . . types of people we see struggling by our side. Just as they speak, and just as they think."[12]

From the outset of his career Jacques Roumain looked toward a "Haitianization" of his country's literature. In an interview conducted by Antonio Vieux in 1927, Roumain points out the need to move away from imitations of French literature. "Above all," he says, "we are a black people. Nothing more natural than that we use the language of French writers. But they must not become, nevertheless, the masters of our sensibility."[13] He then defines poetry as he conceives it: "For me the poem is drama . . . I want from the poem the vibrant force that shakes. The generating motor . . . I have not wanted to paint a picture. I am not a painter. I want to make live that which I have undergone." And he concludes the interview with a statement that underscores his commitment to Haiti—"But whatever my work may be, it is to my people that I will dedicate it."

Within the context of their own declarations, we can focus on the basic elements which have guided their works. The first principle is fundamental to an oral-aural culture: it is the relationship of a speaking voice to a listening public, each bound to the other on a common cultural ground. In this connection the dominant self and the responsive "other" play roles that underline the drama often involved in this poetry. The juxtaposition of I-You becomes the collective We that can include spiritual presences, God, the deities as an invoked audience. Hence the personal presence of the word—and its power—is in sound mediated through voice, whose tonal qualities and rhythms poets like Hughes, Guillén, and Roumain try to reproduce for the printed page. Thus Langston Hughes writes in the mode of the spiritual:

At the feet o' Jesus,
Sorrow like a sea.
Lordy, let yo' mercy
Come driftin' down on me.[14]

Or in the style of the blues he speaks through a female voice:

When love is gone what
Can a young gal do?
When love is gone, O,
What can a young gal do?
Keep on a-lovin' me, daddy,
Cause I don't want to be blue.

Nicolás Guillén, in a poem he calls "Son numero 6," speaks out to a Black audience on the theme of identity:

Yoruba soy, lloro en Yoruba
lucumí.
Como soy un Yoruba de Cuba
quiero que hasta Cuba suba mi llanto Yoruba:
que suba el alegre llanto Yoruba
que sale de mí

Yoruba soy,
cantando voy,
llorando estoy,
y cuando no soy Yoruba,
soy congo, mandinga, carabalí . . .

Or in lines from the poem "Mi chiquita" (My Little Woman), the poet presents the equivalent of the blues in a Cuban *son*. The *son*-poem employs the rhythms of a fast dance popular in Cuba. In his use of the *son* Guillén sought a synthesis of song, dance, and voice in poetry:

La chiquita que yo tengo,
tan negra como e,
no la cambio por ninguna,
por ninguna otra mujer.

Ella me dice: mi santo
tu negra no se te va:
búcame,
búcame,
pa gosá!

Jacques Roumain illustrates the power of voice through the plain speech of the poor and the outcast in a poem he titled "Sales nègres" (Dirty niggers):

Eh bien voila:
Nous autres
les nègres
les niggers
les sales nègres
nous n'acceptons plus
c'est simple
fini

vos sales nègres

The sharp edge of social protest is achieved in short lines and simple words whose abusive connotations the poor and exploited have had to endure. Roumain makes them symbols of repressed rage which breaks out,

Fini, vous verrez,
Nos Yes Sir
oui blanc
Si Señor

and that expressed rankling resentment to stereotypes:

Surprise
quand 'orchestre dans vos boîtes
à rumbas et à blues
vous jouer tout autre chose

The next three principles which I shall group together are closely related to voice illustrated in the preceding selections. First, tone and style are colloquial, using the plain speech of conversation, street talk, dialect and slang (especially in the early poems of Hughes and Guillén), all of which are most frequently presented through poetic monologue and dialogue. Second, story-telling elements are vivid, associated with the speech style of Black people and based on themes emanating from Black experiences. Next, poetry in the oral-aural tradition emphasizes the concrete: time and place are usually localized; the descriptive-narrative arts move in specifics, whether real or imaginary (that is, earth or heaven; the actual or myth; human, superhuman, or deities). Thus Langston Hughes begins to tell a story in the blues tempo:

I was so sick last night I
Didn't hardly know my mind.
So sick last night I
Didn't know my mind.
I drunk some bad licker that
A'most made me blind.

Or he recites racial history from the concrete particulars of rivers:

I've known rivers:

I bathed in the Euphrates when dawns were young
I built my hut near the Congo and it lulled me to sleep.

And he describes Black life through the down-to-earth speech of a mother to her son:

Well, son, I'll tell you
Life for me ain't been no crystal stair
It's had tacks in it
And splinters
And boards torn up
And places with no carpet on the floor —
Bare.

Guillén's "Yoruba soy" (I am a Yoruba), already cited, illustrates the localizing of broad areas of history. Similarly, Jacques Roumain in a long poem he called "Bois d' Ebène" (Ebony Wood) lyrically evokes the span of Black history from the slave trade to the twentieth century:

Mandingues Arada Bambara Ibo
gémissant un chant qu'étranglaient les carcans
(et quand nous arrivâmes à la côte
Mandingues Bambara Ibo
quand nous arrivâmes à la côte
Bambara Ibo
qu'une poignée de grain épars
dans la main du semeur de mort)

"Caña" (Cane) by Nicolás Guillén is a short poem whose economy of line and direct language are used to present four vivid images that reflect the exploitation of Black workers in the cane fields,

El negro
junto al cañaveral.
Al yanqui
sobre el cañaveral.
La tierra
bajo el cañaveral.
¡Sangre
que se nos va!

In another poem Guillén responds to the poverty of urban Blacks in the presentation of a woman who speaks out in unadorned language against

poverty and hunger. Called "Búcate plata" (Get Me Some Money), the words move directly, and with feeling, into the problem

Yo bien sé cómo etá to,
pero viejo, hay que comer:
búcate plata,
búcate plata,
porque me voy a correr.

Although I have referred to music indirectly, it is well to note here the predominance of musical elements in the works of Hughes, Guillén, and Roumain that reflect oral traditions. Musical effects are achieved by means of rhythms, verbal techniques that are modeled on musical forms, and through the use of titles and words that are associated with songs and musical instruments. The poetry of Hughes and Guillén in particular draws on the music of Black people for poetic effects: spirituals, blues, jazz, boogie in the United States; the *son*, the rumba, the drums in Cuba. Roumain tends to use the forms of music less, but like Guillén and Hughes, he achieves musicality in the imaginative use of language sounds and rhythms—the cadences of Black talk, creolized and blended with African words and tonal effects in the Caribbean. In the United States a corresponding pattern of transformation has involved turns of expression, word reversal ("bad" is good), Black rap, the dozens, signifying, the vocabularies of jazz, bop, and so on, all of which Langston Hughes used. Related to music is the incantatory language employed by Roumain and Guillén in their poetic evocations of Vaudou, Santería and other ceremonies.

The intermixture of Black music and Black speech in each of the three writers leads to another literary dimension, which I shall call simultaneity, and which can be associated with an earlier oral culture. Simultaneity means that in any one poem readers will discover that speech/music/dance (by inference, by rhythms, by vocabulary) can be going on at the same time. Simultaneity, then, implies a poetry in motion which conjointly and in shifting relationships creates an auditory imagery that connotes Black life experiences. Techniques of auditory imagery include the following in varying degrees: onomatopeia, the choral line; "shouts," call-and-response; pauses, hesitations (as Whuk! or Ho!) often emphasizing work movements, the catching of breath, and so on, which Sterling Brown has pointed out, as well as Odum and Johnson. Also the beat and the offbeat; the closing flourish (as in "Lawd, Lawd"); and sometimes a coda in the musical tradition. In this context *poesía negra*, including Afro-Cubanism, employs jitanjáfora, meaning "made" words, sometimes associated with the sounds of African speech, or indicating drum sounds, for example "sóngoro cosongo" or "Yambambó, Yambambé." Other

devices involve the uses of rhyme and rhythms; the transforming of speech patterns and dialect into poetic language; and antiphonal word play—in some cases with drums, or in the use of dialogue, sometimes involving the antiphonal play of voice against music. These and other effects can be called rhetorical embellishments, and rhetoric in any society goes back to man's early oral traditions. They represent the accumulation of devices to make language poetic, to aid eloquence, and to assist the memory. They undergird the meaning and the themes of man's poetry from epic to lyric, and they are used to express man's vision and his struggles, his celebrations, and his protest against conditions that overwhelm him. All of these uses are to be found in Black literature. And the point that needs to be made is that these elements cannot be dismissed as "primitive" or "exotic" (favorite terms of some critics involved in their "universals"). The uses to which Hughes, Guillén, and Roumain put these verbal techniques were sophisticated, artistic, and interrelated with themes that interpreted the values of Black life.

Hughes utilizes a simultaneity of expression in "When Sue Wears Red," the presentation of the beauty of a Black woman. He employs auditory images to form word pictures that give us visual images, and he blends this with musical allusions and a gospel hymn shout.

When Susanna Jones wears red
A queen from some time-dead Egyptian night
Walks once again
Blow trumpets, Jesus!

For the poet, her appearance and her movement are an event—"the beauty of Susanna Jones in red/Burns in my heart a love-fire sharp like pain,"—which calls for the shout,

Sweet silver trumpets,
Jesus!

"Sensemayá" is an example of Guillén's re-creation of folkloric materials. The poem opens with the antiphonal sound of the big drums: "¡Mayombé -- bombé — mayombé!" (repeated three times), then shifts to words that evoke movement while forming images of the snake.

La culebra tiene los ojos de vidrio;
la culebra viene y se enreda en un palo;
con sus ojos de vidrio, en un palo,
con sus ojos de vidrio...

The ritual killing of the snake marks the climax, which is encouraged by the incantatory language of the ceremony.

Sensemayá, la culebra
sensemayá.
Sensemayá, con sus ojos,
sensemayá.
Sensemayá, con su lengua,
sensemayá.
Sensemayá, con su boca,
sensemayá...

Onomatopeia, alliteration and the interplay of language rhythms indicate that this is a poem to be heard, to be danced. Its theme underscores an African tradition whose values are to be respected in ceremony.

Roumain wrote a poem in English, addressed to Langston Hughes, in which the poetic voice uses musical references, a refrain, and images to depict Black life from an African past to the present.

Now here in this cabaret as the dawn draws near
you murmur
Play the blues again for me!
O! for me again play the blues!
Are you dreaming tonight, perhaps, of the palm
trees, of
Black Men there who paddled you down the dusks?

What, then, is Black literature? How define it? How evaluate it? I think we can agree that its sources are two-fold: first, the oral art of slave societies whose traditions are still current in the speech and story-telling, song, sermon and oratory of Black communities today; and secondly, literary models which are principally European and American in origin. Langston Hughes, Nicolás Guillén, and Jacques Roumain were chosen in this study to illustrate one stage of the interaction of the oral traditions with those of written literature, and to demonstrate that the validity of a Black literature rests solidly on its roots, whose scope and variety of corresponding patterns extend beyond Black writing in the United States and beyond the English language. Coming from the historical realities of slavery and its consequences in many American countries, a literature has developed that is rich in forms and themes which both reflect and interpret a uniquely Black experience. Oral arts and skills have served as a bridge from Africa to the Americas. The works of Black writers choosing racial subject matter reveal analogous forms and corresponding thematic

patterns that underscore the cultural continuities and an underlying ethnic unity of the exiled children of Africa, whatever language they speak in the New World.

More investigation into the field of comparative studies needs to be undertaken, for example, the study of writers in the English-speaking Caribbean who are not included here, as well as those of Portuguese-speaking Brazil, both areas having a rich and continuous Black culture that furnishes literature with subject matter and style for representing the Black experience. Moreover, this study concentrated on the early writing of Hughes, Guillén, and Roumain—the 1920s through the first half of the 1940s—and focused on poetry in particular. The writing of each was to go through several other stages and a variety of literary forms. Thematically each, in varying degrees, was to move from the local depiction of Black life toward a broader vision that was always sensitive to human dignity and hence protested social injustices and man's inhumanity to his fellow man. The base for each, however, was the Black experience, and all three writers demonstrated a technical skill and a writing art whose style and themes were at the service of the realities and the dreams of Black people.

The literary descendants of Langston Hughes, Nicolás Guillén, and Jacques Roumain are writing today, selecting techniques and subject matter that emanate from a Black ethos and that lead to a Black aesthetic. It is to be hoped, therefore, that further inquiries will be made into the sources, the nature, and the expression of this aesthetic, which promises a continuous growth without disengaging itself from its roots.

NOTES

1. Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Bollingen Series, 36. New York: Pantheon, 1953)
2. For complete text of the address, see Richard A. Long, "Black Studies: International Dimensions" in *New Black Voices*, A. Chapman, ed. (New York: New American Library, 1972), pp. 420-425.
3. Stephen Henderson, *Understanding the New Black Poetry*, an Institute of the Black World book (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1973), p. 3.
4. René Wellek and Austin Warren, *Theory of Literature*, Third Edition (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1956, p. 47.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 47
6. I am indebted to Father Walter J. Ong for the term "sound sensorium" and his analyses of oral-aural cultures and their transitions, though not dealing specifically with African or Black traditions. See Walter J. Ong, S.J., *The Presence of the Word* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), which also contains helpful bibliographical data.
7. Samuel Johnson, *The History of the Yorubas* (Lagos, Nigeria: C.S.S. Bookshops, 1969), p. 3.

8. Sterling Stuckey, "Through the Prism of Folklore: The Black Ethos in Slavery," *The Massachusetts Review*, Volume IX, No 3, Summer 1968.

9. Sources for these samples from the United States include: Odum and Johnson, *The Negro and His Songs* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1925); W.E.B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Company, 1903); Sterling A. Brown, Arthur P. Davis, Ulysses Lee, *The Negro Caravan* (New York: The Citadel Press, 1941); T. W. Higginson, *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1869, and New York: C. T. Dillingham, 1869.)

10. The following sources were used for these samples: José Arrom, "Presencia del negro en la poesía folklórica americana," *Certidumbre de América* (Havana, 1959); Ramón Guirao, *Orbita de la poesía afro-cubana* (Havana 1938); Ildefonso Pereda Valdés, *Cancionero popular Uruguayo* (Montevideo, 1947) and *Raza negra* (Montevideo, 1929); Nestor Ortiz Oderigo, *Calunga, croquis del candombe* (Buenos Aires, 1969); Jean Price-Mars, *Ainsi parla l'oncle* (Port-au-Prince, 1928); Jacques Roumain, *Gouverneurs de la rosée* (Port-au-Prince, 1944).

11. Langston Hughes, *The Big Sea* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1963), p. 209.

12. Interview by José A. Fernandez de Castro, published in *La Semana*, Havana, May 1930.

13 Antonio Vieux, "Entre Nous: Jacques Roumain," *La Revue Indigène* (Port-au-Prince, September 1927), Kraus Reprint, 1971, pp. 103-110.

14. Sources for quoted excerpts from poems are listed on the following page.

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Parameters of Information and Communication among Afro-Americans and Caribbean Peoples

Richard Long

There are many more communities of people of African origin in the Western Hemisphere than most even fairly well-informed people are aware of. For some time in my teaching and research, particularly in the area of African continuities, I have been concerned with the ensemble of this African diaspora. There is, however, a special relationship between one such community, that of the United States, and the varying communities of the Caribbean. It is to this special relationship that I wish to direct attention in this discussion, with special reference to information flow and communication among them. The nature of the communities (which we will call Afroid) in this discussion vary considerably, but I think we can safely delimit three models to which the others assimilate in some degree or other. I will call them the U.S. Model, the Jamaican Model and the Haitian Model. The number of Afroids included in these three models includes the majority of Afroid peoples in the area under review.

The Afroids of the United States are descended primarily, as those in all the Caribbean, from Africans imported as slave labor by Europeans chiefly during the 17th and 18th centuries. Whereas, a number of Africans were imported by the Dutch to what is now New York State, and others by the French and Spanish, to what is now Louisiana, the majority were imported by the English, mainly into the plantation economies of the southern U.S. The consequence of this is that until recent decades, the overwhelming majority of U.S. Afroids were resident in the south and that today the widely dispersed black communities of the middle and far west are mainly southern in culture.

Most northeastern communities show a cleavage between older settlers and newer migrants. In the northeast, and to a lesser extent in northern Florida, there is a significant impact of Afroid Caribbean immigration thereby diversifying the culture and character of these communities. There

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was a significant measure of miscegenation, mainly between white men and black women, contributing to a considerable mixed-blood population in the Afroid community. In certain areas, there was also a significant Amerindian input which has been little studied.

However, no legal and few social distinctions were made between mixed-bloods and pure-bloods by the dominant society and it is very important to note that the total Afroid population has always been a minority in the society, throughout the 20th Century hovering around one tenth. The Afroid population has occupied, throughout its history in this society, the lowest rung in social prestige and economic status. Within the Afroid community, a certain covert prestige has attached to mixed-blood until very recent times.

The *Jamaican Model* differs from the U.S. model in two main particulars. First, Afroids are, and have been since the English conquest of the Islands from the Spaniards, the overwhelming majority in the society. Second, miscegenation created a class of mixed-bloods who were viewed, socially at least, differently from the bloods by the dominant white minority. The white, brown, black tripos was further modified by the 19th Century importation as Asiatics, chiefly Chinese. The white dominant native minority was reinforced constantly by overseas English, usually officials of the colonial power until near the end of the colonial period. The ending of colonial status has made whites much less visible socially and reduced their impact and interaction in the society.

The *Haitian Model* was originally similar to the early Jamaican model. The Afroid population was an overwhelming majority, the mixed-bloods occupied a different and intermediate status vis-a-vis the pure bloods; there was a dominant white minority. The Haitian revolution gave rise to a new structure, a society in which everyone was of African descent, but divided into a small elite, chiefly of mixed-bloods, and a large pure African peasantry. Both Haiti and Jamaica shared, in the late 19th or earliest 20th Century, a Levantine immigration whose members assumed entrepreneurial status.

Each of these models is simplified and none conforms exactly to ideologies fashionable or current in the societies. Haiti, except in periods of political crisis, is simply the black republic. Jamaica is a harmonious, multi-racial society, and the United States is a land of equal opportunity, with a few unfortunate lapses. In an understanding of the true dynamics of these societies, the issue of the role of color caste must be faced. The subject is one which is reluctantly brought out in open discussion, however, in any of the societies; yet it broods like Poe's Raven over every aspect of the life of the society.

The communities in question in these models—U.S. Afroids, Jamaica, Haiti—are clearly divided from the perspective of intersocietal information

and communication into "intelligentsia" and "folk." Now I use the word "intelligentsia" with some trepidation because this implies people who do a lot of reading and intellectualization. In my folklore fashion I talk about the folk and the non-folk-like. But in a sense everybody is "folk". I am using the intelligentsia, not to suggest people who are surrounded by libraries, but for people who (let us say) don't work with their hands. For all practical purposes, the "folk" are outside of the range of such inter-societal interaction. I shall briefly characterize the extent of awareness among the "folk" in the three models we are discussing.

The Haitian folk are an archaic peasantry, with a marginal proletariat. I say archaic because they have not even been corrupted by transistor radios. They are largely unaware of the existence and character of black populations elsewhere in the Caribbean or in the U.S. The Jamaican folk, strongly affected by politics, mass media, and a long history of out migration, are aware of the existence of the large U.S. Afroid community and of other English-Speaking Afroid communities in the Caribbean. There is a kind of West-Indian consciousness which is characteristic of even the most rural folk in Jamaica. The U.S. folk, living for the most part within the limits of an advanced technological society and blessed or cursed by compulsory schooling, have little distinctive awareness of Caribbean Afroid communities commensurate with their opportunities to be informed about them. This inter-societal information and communication among the intelligentsia is obviously much more complex than among the folk.

At the present, I perceive at least six parameters affecting the status of inter-societal information and communication among the societies under review. Three are old and three are fairly recent. These are: (1) the metropolitan or mother-country connection, (2) the social presence of the European or white man, (3) the degree of identification with the folk, (4) black consciousness or identity, (5) nationalist ideology, (6) Marxist ideology. Some are, of course, interconnected. We isolate them merely for purposes of analysis. The education which the intelligentsia receive in a given society is strongly conditioned by the culture of the dominant political metropolis. The literature, the political formulation, the etiquette, the religion and every other aspect of that culture constitute the frame of reference and the universe of discourse of the intelligentsia. Obviously, they have some impact on the folk, but that is, relatively at least, slight. The metropolitan culture provides a standard for evaluation and consequently controls evaluation within the culture. In the societies under review, the Afroid communities have their origin in an inferior status vis-a-vis Europeans, and have, therefore either an actual or historical past relationship with the Europeans which affects and constricts many behavioral patterns.

The degree to which the intelligentsia in the society identify themselves

with the "folk", ethnically, politically, or socially, and obviously the degree of mobility from folk-status to intelligentsia, affect very much the image the intelligentsia hold of their society known to them. A recent factor in all the societies under review is that complex revalorization of Africa known as black consciousness, black identity, or black pride. In each of the societies, a refocussing of attention to African origins and to Afroid experiences has led to important challenges to tradition which reflect inevitably on inter-societal information about the communication with other Afroid societies, particularly those of Africa itself. Black consciousness may function as a parameter in a primarily affective manner, but it may also interact with ideological currents which have been at work during the last few years in the societies under review—one nationalist, the other Marxist.

The nationalist current emphasizes community control of the economy, of education, sexual mores and many other aspects of culture. It draws inspiration from such movements as Garveyism, the Nation of Islam, and Rastafarianism.

The Marxist current emphasizes the iniquity of capitalism, the necessity for peasant-proletariat entitlement and the destruction of privilege, and draws its inspiration more from Franz Fanon than from classical Marxist sources. It frequently extols as models the examples of China, Cuba and Tanzania.

At this point we will examine how these parameters contour the information held in each society concerning the others. Information should be regarded as a very broad term. It includes basic data and, more vitally, that self-perception which is crucial to the informational concept.

From the perceptional insight that sees the Afroid community of the United States as an internal colony, we may state that this community lives in symbiosis with its metropolitan model, the so-called mainstream. The metropolitan model emphasizes efficiency and practicality above all. It makes a virtue of plain speaking. The Afroid community reflects these traits to a high degree, hence its intelligentsia, in contact with others, is likely to be antagonized by what it perceives as the inefficiency and hypocrisy in the more deliberate and ceremonial manner of others. For the U.S. Afroids, contact with whites is constant, potentially so, if not in practice. Hence, relations with whites are a continuing concern. Traditionally, whites have been divided into good and bad white folks. But that distinction has begun to be broken down. Ultimately, however, there is a wariness about white folk based upon their being perceived as the "other." Differences in the perception of the white man are often crucial in inter-community contacts. The U.S. tradition allows no formal class distinction, a condition that has been reinforced by black consciousness. Hence, products of the officially "classless" society find it difficult to

understand that black folk anywhere else actually speak in class terms.

Black consciousness or black pride in the U.S. is a movement growing out of the civil rights movement, and has as antecedents many nationalist movements of which Garvey's is the best known. Mass media and the development of a spectacular symbolic expression gave the movement an extraordinary expansion. It affected every sector of the U.S. Afroid community, frequently creating awareness of Afroid communities elesewhere, tending to provide positive perceptions of these communities. Nationalist ideology which frequently had a Pan-African dimension, placed emphasis upon black power, black community control and continued black protest. The nationalist ideology tends to assimilate all other black communities to the U.S. Afroid model which results in distortion of perception. Marxist ideology, making a recent return to the U.S. Afroid community, after its failure in the 30's, has considerable difficulty extricating itself from nationalist ideology. Its conflict with that ideology is already evident and the outcome is not clear. Strictly applied, it would lead to harsh judgements of nearly all Afroid communities.

More rapidly I will discuss these parameters as they affect information in the two other models. Though the metropolitan connection with France would seem to be remote in many ways, the maintenance of the French language and an educational system based on the French classics, gives a continental European quality to the life of the Haitian upper class. The physical absence of the European, except as a visitor or egalitarian resident—with the notable exception of the American occupation, no longer an active memory—tends to make the Haitian accept the white man as an individual. The rigid class structure of Haitian life is the basis of a widely accepted definition of "Le Peuple," whose language shared with other Haitians, is nevertheless not the official language of the country. Black consciousness in Haiti is a special case, since it reflects intra-community conflict, rather than assertion against an outside community. Both the nationalist and Marxist ideologies are subjects of discussion rather than of agitation in Haiti, in part for political reasons, in part for the indubitable fact that Haitians, for good or ill, have usually been in control in Haiti.

In Jamaica, the metropolitan connection with insular Great Britian is everywhere manifest. The well-known conviction of English superiority to those of the lesser breeds is communicated through higher schooling. The continuing white presence there creates an ambivalence towards the white man. A historical reminder of the colonial status on the one hand, it also bespeaks solidarity within the British Commonwealth. As in Haiti, the class distinctions are explicit and acknowledged. The rise of black consciousness has brought peculiar stresses to a purportedly multi-racial society where whites, Asiatics and the brown people themselves have

been seen as those to whom the lessons of black consciousness must be read. Both nationalist and Marxist ideologies are in ferment in Jamaica and are closely bound one with the other. The outcome of this conflict equally cannot be predicted.

At this point I would like to illustrate how these parameters act on communication between the communities under review. I will do so by use of encounter models based either on personal observation or on examples provided by history. A well-known, but little understood, example is provided by the experience that Marcus Garvey had with the U.S. Afroid intelligentsia. Because Garvey's own position was a black nationalist one, he sought an understanding of white positions that might reinforce his own. Accordingly, he made contact around 1924 with some officials of the Klu Klux Klan. The horror that this action created among the black American intelligentsia was unparalleled. DuBois said of him that he was "either a fool or the greatest traitor the race has known." Underlying this great understanding was Garvey's Jamaican tendency to treat whites as the "other" and of KKK as "really bad white folk." Garvey, while functioning in the U.S. Afroid milieu, never came to terms with this culture. A Haitian, for example, may say to a U.S. Afroid that he would like to present him to another American friend. It would not normally occur to the "States-siders" that the friend could be white. If this should be the case, the States-sider is both shocked and offended by an apparent lack of racial solidarity on the part of the Haitian who has unwittingly exposed him to a racial encounter. I should point out that when two black Americans say to each other that "I have a friend," if the friend is white, he always specifies that fact. It is unlikely that a black American would approach another announcing the presence or coming of a third person, without saying, if such is the case, "there's a white person coming."

The metropolitan connection serves as an effective two-way barrier. The U.S. Afroid is likely to regard the educated Jamaican's speech as affected, because in the United States Americans regard British speech as affected. The Jamaican is unlikely to escape from the prejudice that an inferior variety of education, and presumably inferior status is conferred upon graduates of American institutions, particularly black ones. The Afro-American, in conversation with either Haitians or Jamaicans, is likely, particularly from the vantage point of black consciousness, to deplore the lack of humanity he perceives in the class structure, particularly since color differentiation seems essential there. He is usually shocked, but not convinced, when he is told by the Haitian or the Jamaican that a comparable group of upper echelon Afro-Americans also shows a distinct color differentiation from the masses, and is likely to regard this as a dishonest ploy. The issue of class strikes deep in inter-community

encounter. I will cite an instance in which two Afro-Americans, each virtually a classic representative of tendencies that are absolutely opposed in Afro-American life but who are temperamentally akin reacted with horror at the sangfroid with which a Haitian described an accident in which his vehicle struck a peasant woman. In my view, all three persons were equally endowed with human compassion, each having very little. But the way the Haitian described his experience was so completely unlike the way any American, no matter what his ideology would be that they were appalled. And yet, as I said, real human compassion was minimally involved.

In summary, I would say that Jamaicans have a distinct perception of Afro-Americans, while they have a far less distinct one of Haitians. Haitians have a vague perception of Afro-Americans, and perhaps an equally vague one of Jamaicans. Afro-Americans, in fact, have a relatively vague perception of Jamaicans and Haitians. Immigration to the U.S. and, more recently, tourism have, of course, made some change in this, but I think this is still a fair reading of this complicated history of intra-community perception. This portrait could be extended with proper modifications to communities such as Barbados, Martinique, the Bahamas, and Trinidad. I think, however, that I have provided a basis for understanding what an investigation would find in these other instances.

Conceptual Repertoires and Their Communication Through Language

Dennis R. Craig

Abstract

In most contemporary societies, persons are prepared for society-wide oral communication through a lengthy process of formal schooling. If oral communication is to be used more extensively for imparting information to persons who have not been significantly conditioned within this process of formal schooling, there may be a possibility of problems in relation to the linquistic form of communication on the one hand and the conceptual content that is to be communicated on the other. However, the possibility of problems in relation to conceptual content that is to be communicated is at present no more than a hypothesis which has not yet been adequately studied. The theory of knowledge in modern empirical philosophy and the theory of generative grammar in linguistics are drawn upon in order to suggest what the structure of a conceptual repertoire might be like. The role of language in the communication of a conceptual repertoire is examined. It is concluded that interlingual and intercultural differences between conceptual repertoires are indicated only if there is difference in a relatively small set of items and relationships which are here defined. Whether such differences do exist in any specific instances is a matter for empirical investigation, but a theory is suggested within which such differences can be evaluated. The implications of this for the expanded use of oral communication are suggested.

1.

In contemporary societies, continued growth and development in social and economic terms demand the constant exchange of information between persons. One purpose of formal school systems is to prepare persons for this transmission of information. Such preparation is most obvious in

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relation to written communication, since the skills of literacy have to be deliberately taught and learned; but it is not equally obvious in relation to oral communication, since persons tend naturally to acquire the oral habits of their immediate environment and, thereby, an apparently adequate capacity for oral communication within that environment.

However, in most societies, it happens that the oral habits of one's immediate environment are very often not exactly the same as those promoted by the formal school system for oral communication in the society as a whole. Formal school systems, for example, aim to confer upon all persons who pass through them the ability to communicate in standard as distinct from non-standard dialects. On the other hand, the natural oral habits acquired by large masses of individuals from their immediate environments often tend to belong to non-standard dialects or languages.

In most cases, however, even if the oral habits of an individual's immediate environment, from the viewpoint of sounds (phonology), forms and relationships of words (morphology and syntax), belong to what can be considered as the standard oral language of the society as a whole, the formal school system still serves to reorganize the individual's language in certain very significant ways. For one thing, it makes the individual capable of manipulating a vocabulary which he or she might not otherwise possess; and, in the use of language for complex purposes, it tends to confer a proficiency that might otherwise seldom develop; in simple terms, it has the general effect on language which sets an 'educated' tone. In short, formal school systems play a more significant role than might be apparent at first glance in preparing persons for the society-wide transmission of information through oral communication.

When, therefore, consideration is being given to the greater use of the possibilities of oral communication for imparting information, including technological information, to persons who are non-literate or who possess relatively low levels of formal educational achievement, there are two main sets of factors that need to be carefully considered.

The first set of these factors consists of the linguistic and social dynamics of communication under conditions of language variation, social dialect differences, and various types of bilingual situations. These factors have received much attention in recent years, and there is an extensive literature on them; it is therefore not the purpose of this paper to consider them.[1]

The second set of factors is more directly related to the concerns of this paper. These factors have to do with the content of communication, unlike the first set which, by and large, have to do with the form of communication. By the *content* of communication is meant the meanings or ideas or concepts that are exchanged between persons through the use of language. This notion of the content of communication has underlying

it a conception of the nature of language similar to that stated, for example, in Chafe (1970, p.17):

1. "In its broadest outline, language involves the following process. A configuration of concepts arises within the nervous system of a human being, who, for some reason, often but necessarily associated with purposeful communication, is led to convert these concepts into sound. The sound travels to whatever other person or persons are within hearing distance, and is normally reconverted within their nervous systems into some facsimile of the original concepts. The facsimile is usually imperfect for several reasons: the inevitable differences between the conceptual repertoires of different individuals, for example, and the lack of complete congruence between their linguistic systems. Even so, language does permit the transfer of concepts in remarkably subtle and effective ways."

It is easy to accept the first part of this formulation which explains what language involves and which is merely descriptive of what can be regarded as a self-evident process. But the second part of the formulation suggests two causes of imperfect communication, and one of these causes: *differences between conceptual repertoires* has to be regarded, in the current state of our knowledge, as being mainly hypothetical.[2] If, however, differences between conceptual repertoires do exist and if these differences lead to imperfect communication, then it can be readily seen that one function of formal school systems, in preparing persons as already suggested for society-wide communication, could be to narrow such differences; and conversely to this, one problem that would be likely to affect the expanded use of oral communication for purposes and under conditions such as those already referred to could possibly be such differences between conceptual repertoires.

It would seem, therefore, that a worthwhile purpose can be served by some examination of the following questions:

2. (a) What is the structure and content of a conceptual repertoire?
   (b) What are the possible differences, if any, that can exist between conceptual repertoires?
   (c) What problems, if any, are likely to arise in communication either through
      (i) differences in conceptual repertoires themselves, or
      (ii) differences in the way in which conceptual repertoires are represented in language.

To answer questions such as these, two types of information are needed: one type relating to the nature of the conceptual knowledge that human

beings possess, and the other relating to the structure of language as it represents such knowledge.[3] The rest of this paper will examine some information of these two types in an attempt to suggest some answers to the questions that have been posed.

2.

The maximum possible content of communication, that is, an ideal conceptual repertoire, can be no more than the possible conceptual knowledge of the human being. It might appear at first sight that such knowledge is so vast in its potential scope that the description of it would be impossible. In effect, however, the description of the conceptual knowledge of the human being ought to be no greater a problem than the description of all the possible well-formed sentences that a speaker can conceivably produce.[4] Chomsky (1957) has shown that a descriptive device adequate to describe the totality of such sentences has to be one in which a relatively small, finite set of elements can be acted upon recursively by, again, a relatively small, finite set of rules in such a way that all the possible well-formed sentences of language, and only these, can be generated. The reason why a child can in a relatively short period of time acquire a language completely and produce well-formed sentences which he or she has never heard anyone produce before is, one must assume, that the child has the capacity to formulate such a device, in other words a grammar, in his or her mind. The most essential characteristic of such a device is that of permitting particular items and structures to be derived by fixed rules from others.

It has generally been ignored that, in the same way as researchers in linguistic theory have come to describe the items and structures of language as consisting essentially of those that are primitive or basic and those that are derived from the latter, researchers in the theory of knowledge have, relatively, long ago, concluded that knowledge has to be classified similarly into categories: one that may be termed *immediate* and the other that may eventually be reduced to the latter and that may be termed, again, *derived*. Russell (1912, p.109) for example, summarizes the structure of human knowledge as follows:

3. 'We have first to distinguish knowledge of things and knowledge of truths. In each there are two kinds, one immediate and the other derivative. Our immediate knowledge of things, which we called *acquaintance*, consists of two sorts, according as the things known are particulars or universals. Among particulars, we have acquaintance with sense-data and (probably) with ourselves. Among universals, there seems to be no principle by which we can decide which

can be known by acquaintance, but it is clear that among those that can be so known are sensible qualities, relations of space and time, similarity and certain abstract logical universals. Our derivative knowledge of things, which we call knowledge by *description*, always involves both acquaintance with something and knowledge of truths. Our immediate knowledge of truths may be called *intuitive* knowledge, and the truths so known may be called *self-evident* truths. Among such truths are included those which merely state what is given in sense, and also certain abstract logical and arithmetical principles, and (though with less certainty) some ethical propositions. Our derivative knowledge of truths consists of everything that we can deduce from self-evident truths by the use of self-evident principles of deduction.

If the above account is correct, all our knowledge of truths depends upon our intuitive knowledge.'[5]

This summary may be diagrammed as in illustration 4. It seems that the summary is saying, in terms of human knowledge, exactly what linguistic theory has recently been trying (inadequately) to say about human language. What the philosopher implies by 'immediate' generative linguistic theory seems to have been striving to imply by the term 'basic,' i.e. items which in a grammar as in a theory of knowledge, have to be taken as given, and as not being capable of explanation in terms of any other items. Linguistic theory, however, has been using the term 'derived' in two senses: to indicate etymological derivation on the one hand (like saying, for example, that the English word 'civilization' has come to us through a process which began with the Latin word 'civis' meaning 'a citizen,' and to indicate conceptual derivation on the other (like when generative semanticists suggest that 'kill' is derived from a structure that is equivalent to 'cause to be not alive'; whereas philosophy necessarily uses the term only to indicate conceptual derivation.

Once this convergence of the two types of enquiry is recognized, the methods to be employed in any inquiry further than this point of convergence have to be linguistic methods, since we can only examine concepts themselves and repertoires of concepts by means of the linguistic labels by which they are identified or which identify their contents.

4.

	THINGS	TRUTHS
IMMEDIATE KNOWLEDGE or Knowledge by Acquaintance (In terms of linguistic items & relationships: BASIC)	1) Particulars: Universals, Sensible qualities. Sense Date: Relations of space and time Similarity. Ourselves: Logical Universals.	2) Intuitive knowledge, Self-evident truths, Some ethical propositions. What is given in sense Certain logical and arithmetical principles.
DERIVED KNOWLEDGE or Knowledge by Description	3) Always involves both (1) and (2).	4) Everything we can deduce from self-evident truths by use of self-evident principles of deduction.

The first linguistic fact that emerges by such methods is that items which are incapable of conceptual explanation in terms of other items, and which are categorized by conceptual criteria in the top half of illustration 4, fall into certain well-defined linguistic classes so that they can be objectively and precisely listed.[6] This linguistic fact contributes to a confirmation of the validity of the categorization in 4, arrived at by the instance purely on the basis of logical analysis. The relevant linguistic classes are as follows:

5. (a) Linguistic items that belong to one-member classes, that is: each such item is the sole member of its ultimate grammatical subclass when all the syntactic constraints on its use are examined. This criterion applies, provided that the item has a unique/semantic purpose, and is not merely morphological.
   (b) Stative verbs and adjectives, that is: items of these two types that become deviant in a syntactic context which requires them to be interpreted as voluntary behaviour. Verbs would in each case be deviant if substituted as Y in the syntactic frame *WHAT X DID WAS Y (someone/something)*. Adjectives would become deviant if substituted as Y in a similar syntactic frame: *WHAT X DID WAS BE Y*.
   (c) Deictic items of place and time.
   (d) Prepositions of spatial relationships (i.e. Locative prepositions).

Examples of actual items that fall within these linguistic classes are as follows:

6. (a) *On the criterion of 5(a)*

(i) The first person singular pronoun 'I' or the concept of 'self'.

(ii) The indefinite pronoun 'something', or a concept of 'entity'.

(iii) Coordinate 'and' as a relationship.

(iv) Negator 'not'.

(v) The relationship of 'having SCOPE over', like the scope of *not* over a part of a sentence, or the scope of a verb like *know* over an object-sentence (e.g. John knows [that Bill is dead].

(vi) The relationship indicated by 'be' in descriptions as in 'something (is) red'.

(vii) The pro-verb 'do' or the concept of agency as in 'What Martians *do* is not know.' The whole concept might perhaps be most accurately represented as 'do-something'.

(b) *On the criterion of 5(b)*

(viii) Sense-impression adjectives: 'black, sweet, hot . . .'

(ix) Numeral adjectives: 'one, two . . . several . . .'

(x) Sense-impression, cognition, affective and desiderative verbs: 'see, hear . . . know, think . . . like, hate . . . want . . .'

(c) *On the criterion of 5(c)*

(xi) 'here, there . . . now, then . . . next, past . . .'

(d) *On the criterion of 5(d)*

(xii) 'in, on, near . . .'

The items and classes of items listed in 6 form a very small part of the total items, including relationships, that constitute any language, but they seem to be possibly all the items that can be regarded as immediate or basic in the senses already discussed. The remaining items, including relationships, of language are therefore those that would need to be regarded as being *derived*. The way in which such derivation may be described will be discussed presently. Before that, it may be pointed out that the items in 6, few as they are, constitute what would have to be regarded as the human conceptual repertoire, since they are suggested as being the only items that cannot be explained in terms of other items, and as being the set from which all others are derived. This, in brief, is the answer to the question posed at 2(a) concerning the nature of a conceptual repertoire.

3.

What needs to be considered now is the way in which the derivation of all the other items that constitute language proceeds; in other words, the role of language in communicating a conceptual repertoire.

When concepts first occur in the human mind, they can be labelled solely in terms of the items suggested in 6. Such labelling is the beginning of the linguistic process. The rest of the linguistic process after this is completely recursive, and consists of a successive replacing of groups of lower-order labels by single higher-order labels. How this happens may best be described by means of some concrete examples, but it needs to be first understood that, at the level of language that is made possible by the items stated in 6, the following principles apply.

7. (a) Nouns do not exist as such. What, later in the process, becomes a noun would at this stage be represented by the items.
something (be) X, and X_2 . . . and X_n where X can be any of the other items listed in 6.

(b) Transitive verbs do not exist as such. What, later in the process, becomes a transitive verb would at this stage be represented by two conceptual sentences structured as follows:

Conceptual Sentence 1	*Link*	*Conceptual Sentence 2*
Noun (As in 7(a)) *do*	*and*	Noun (As in 7(a)) X_1 . . . X_n

At a later stage, the concepts labelled by *do* and symbolized as X_1 . . . X_n will join together and be labelled as a transitive verb, with the first noun as subject and the other as direct object.

(c) Subordinating conjunctions of all types would not exist as such. Their meanings would at this stage be inherent in the way in which conceptual sentences linked by 'and' are sequenced, and the way in which such sentences are or are not under the scope of other conceptual elements comprehended under 6. For example, a conjunction such as 'because' could arise because of the sequencing of the elements in the following structure:

Link and Time-scope

Conceptual sentence 1	*"and-then"*	*Conceptual sentence 2*

inherently gives rise at a later stage to

"Because"	*Conceptual sentence 1*	*Conceptual sentence 2*

(d) At this stage, some of the meanings of later sentences would be inherent in the SITUATION in which the discourse is taking place. But these inherent situational meanings can be labelled or represented within the same terms as those stated in 6, since that is the basic way in which speakers are aware of them. For example, the personal pronoun 'you' would at this stage exist conceptually as a set of situational requirements combined with an actual sentence requirement as follows:

Situational requirement:
(i) Someone (x) be-here-now.
(ii) I want [X know [X do-something]
be-something]

Sentence requirement:
Someone (X) do-something
be-something

Result of the combination of situational and sentence requirements:
Someone (X) → YOU

There are several other principles that would also apply and that can be deduced from those already stated. Appended to this discussion are some examples of how the linguistic process can be conceived as operating, and some justifications for the suggestions made.[7]

From the preceding, the role of language in communicating a conceptual repertoire can be perceived. Language is the means whereby combinations of items from the basic repertoire are subsumed under single labels in such a way that whole combinations can be communicated and used again, recursively, as units. By this means a word in the final form of a sentence, at the stage when the sentence is actually spoken, can often be similar in nature to the label for a subroutine in a computer program: a complex set of items and processes are subsumed under it.

We are now therefore in a position to complete the answers to the questions posed at 2. If the hypothesis that 6 represents the structure and content of a conceptual repertoire is accepted, the possible differences between the actual repertoires of different individuals or groups can similarly be suggested as a hypothesis. Such differences can possibly be of two kinds as follows:

8. (a) Differences in the number and types of discrete categories that are present in an individual repertoire.

(b) Differences in the content (that is the number of actual labels and their types) that is actually present in each given category.

Whether such differences do or do not exist between language communities is something that ought to be capable of empirical investigation. It is possible that all language systems possess or use the categories of concepts and the individual items within categories stated at 6, even though the systems of labelling items might be different. However, investigations of conceptual differences between language systems have never had a theoretical framework on which they could be based. Contrastive analysis, as known in applied linguistics, can suggest whether differences do or do not exist at a semantic-syntactic level between two language systems, but, if such differences are revealed, contrastive analysis can do nothing to suggest what is the possible cognitive significance of such differences; all that happens is a return to the problems of the Whorf hypothesis once again. However, the hypothesis embodied in the statement at 6, if correct, would suggest that differences in terms of categories and relationships such as those at 6 would be fundamental conceptual ones. Also important, though probably less so than differences between categories would be differences within categories.

On the other hand, differences that lie outside of the relatively small set of categories and relationships stated at 6, that is differences between derived items, would have to be regarded as arising through differences in linguistic, as distinct from conceptual, systems. In the absence of differences in conceptual systems, linguistic differences mean nothing more than that the contrasting speakers are capable of handling the same concepts and performing the same cognitive operations but that they are exercising this capability by different means.

As suggested before, whether or not differences of one kind or another do exist between given communities is a purely empirical question, but whatever differences are discovered by empirical means would need to be evaluated by some theory such as that earlier outlined before their significance can be determined. The suggestions so far made also help to demarcate the possible role of environment and culture in any differences that might be empirically evidenced.

First of all, it might be noted that environments and cultures are differentiated for the most part in terms of objects and experiences whose linguistic labelling (concrete nouns, verbals other than sensation and psychological ones, and so on) place the human knowledge of those objects and experiences within the area of derived concepts. For example, most of the Hopi-English differences cited as examples in the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis are in this area. Such differences tend to show that communities can differ in their selection of what they consider relevant in the world,

and in their shared values; not necessarily have anything to do with differences in the innate cognitive abilities of individuals in those communities. However, if it could be demonstrated, and again this would be a matter for empirical investigation, that environmental and cultural factors are associated with the presence or absence of categories such as those in 6, then that would be a different matter; it would mean that cultural and environmental factors have influenced the development or the emergence of the innate capacities of the human being in respect of logical operations (if items under 6 (a) are involved) and in respect of perceptual and psychological responses (if items under 6 (b) to 6 (d) are involved).

The significance of all this for the expanded use of oral communication is clear. If the expansion involves the interaction of persons from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds or the transference of information from one cultural background into another, then as pointed out at the beginning of this discussion, it is expected that differences of a purely linguistic kind would be taken into account. If there is reason for concern, however, about the possibility of differences between conceptual repertoires, then the suggestion of the present discussion is that unless such differences involve categories such as those listed in 6, we may conclude that the speakers are equivalent in their conceptual capacities even though their linguistic and cultural habits might differ.

Migration to the United States: Some Implication for Caribbean Governments and their Educators

Roy S. Bryce-La Porte

Last year I presented to the group in very abbreviated, concise fashion, certain preoccupations which I had been entertaining about current West Indian or Caribbean immigration into the United States and the implications of this movement for the educational enterprise of both areas. My final statement was that this should lead to joint workshops of school people from each side of the migratory movement (that is, the societies of origin as well as the target societies) to begin to scrutinize the greater political, sociological, and economic causes and consequences of this movement of people and the challenges such movement creates for both professional and political action of educational experts. More particularly, I was hoping that part of the development of such a joint workshop, made up of a meaningful representation of the academic community in each country, could begin to identify subject areas where cooperative or compensatory action may be pursued. Perhaps they would begin to strategize and experiment in a professional way with some of the ideas and challenges evoked by the unbasing of the socioeconomics of current Caribbean migration.

I am, therefore, proud to see that the Phelps Stokes Fund chose in its wisdom to pursue the issue of Caribbean immigration and the challenges it has for black education on both sides of the Diaspora. I am happy to exchange with some information and insights into the current immigrant situation and hopefully get you thinking and talking on the implications these have for professional educational action by persons involved in the education of blacks on both sides of the Diaspora, particularly the education of the prospective, actual and returned migrants themselves.

The notion of a Black Diaspora is clearly neither new nor original to any of us here. The concept refers to the dispersal of black people, people of African ancestry, to various parts of the world. Establishment history

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has it that our presence in the Western Hemisphere has largely to do with the Slave Trade. Less heard voices in and out of academia have postulated with great provocation and plausibility and with some degree of soundness as well, the counter-argument that blacks were in America (the so-called New World) before the Slave Trade, perhaps prior to celebrated European discoverers. At least we know that blacks comprised part of the early expeditions, some as freemen who played important roles in the discovery, exploration and settlement of the Western Hemisphere. The largest number of blacks, however, came as slaves to replace depleting Amerindian servitude and ineffectual European industrial labor in the new colonies. As a result of the massive trade, blacks were to be found in visible numbers in every territory of the hemisphere except Greenland and Alaska. In the south, Argentina and Chile have had blacks in their historical population, and the shipping of Maroons to Africa via Newfoundland and Nova Scotia gives us some sense of the range of the northern presence of blacks in the hemisphere. Black slaves were found in the interior and Pacific coast of the mainland; but as we of this group well know, the greatest concentrations were in the Atlantic rimlands, offshorelands, and islands. The African Diaspora is particularly vast when we consider black presence in the Mediterranean and other parts of Europe, Oceania, Asia and Eurasia in addition to its Western extension. While many of the black communities comprise part of an older historic movement from Africa itself, some of them have been replenished by more contemporary movements of blacks not only from Africa but also from the Caribbean, United States, and other non-African lands, since then adopted as homelands of earlier transplanted black peoples.

It is not simply vastness which justifies our acting upon the reality of the Diaspora as an item of important intellectual interest. In fact, for a long time established academia overlooked and ignored this vastness. When it was recognized, it was played down as a simple geographical, anthropological datum or a demographic disaster. For us here today, the Diaspora, particularly in the Western theatre, is of particular importance. It entails, as a shared set of conditions, experiences and statuses, an amazingly strong and resilient set of cultural continuities, a growing consciousness of kinds, a constant refurbishing of communities by human and other levels of exchange, and of course, the linkages all these promote among the children of Africa caught on this side of the Atlantic Ocean. What I would like to do today, in some way, involves focusing on the latter two aspects of the Diaspora—its continuity and its linkages. I would like to speak about them, but also through them, to what light they shed upon the other factors. Finally, I would hope to stimulate discussion among us on the challenges and directions they hold for college faculty and professional educators.

The history of blacks is not simply a history of status; it is one of mobility and movement as well. The great movement of blacks from Africa to the Western Hemisphere began in the early 1500s and tapered off in the early 1800s by virtue of the abolition of the slave trade by British and American governments. However, large numbers of slaves continued to come to the hemisphere via the remaining slave empires of Spain and Portugal and also illegally via American traders. All during those three hundred years there was a constant flow of blacks from the Caribbean islands to the North American mainland. As slaves, they either were imported after their seasoning in the islands or, in the cases of those not chosen by West Indian planters, were sent to the northern market. Adding to this flow were cases of wholesale migration by West Indian planters with their slaveholdings to Louisiana and the Carolinas.

The flow of blacks from the islands and surrounding rimland was not confined to the slave period. During the years between the end of American slavery and the turn of this century, the flow of Caribbean blacks to the United States was slow. In fact, movement of blacks within the United States was slow, with most confined to the South. However, at the turn of the century West Indian blacks began to move to Cuba and the United States, and to other parts of the mainland. As they had been forced to do as slaves, they emigrated in response to the labor market when free, although emigration is not usually a fully free decision. Wherever they went through the first third of the century or so, they were workers in closed systems—southern plantations, northern factories, Cuban and Central American plantations, railroads, construction camps and company tours. Though free, their status was to be low, their labor stooped, and their other roles stringent. Relocated in socially more dynamic and economically more developed and politically more sovereign countries than their own, some of these former West Indian slaves did well, comparatively speaking. Living was not easy for these pioneers and frontiersmen but some of them and their successes have made interesting inroads into North and Latin American sports, and into the artistic, political, intellectual and professional life of their countries of relocation and adoption.

In general, but particularly in the United States, they did so as blacks, and the comparisons are too often made using that classification rather than the description "immigrants." Conventional wisdom suggests that when they are looked upon as immigrants they may not have done so well. This is so not because of the lack of inherent ability and drive, but because of racism. Ethnocentrism may have explained the difference in opportunity between white natives and white immigrants, but acculturation/Americanization resolves their basic differences. Racism explains more than the disparity between black and white immigrants, as it explains the problems between black natives and white natives. It is well-known

that adaptation of the latter's culture has not been sufficient to overcome the antagonism and disparities between blacks and whites in the United States. The West Indian immigrants, most of them quite visible, shared the experience and status of those other immigrants or natives with whom they were more easily categorizable—the blacks and other visible minorities. In fact, one of the major problems they suffered was difficulty of entry relative to European immigrants. In part it may have been due to color, but it obviously also related to their colonial status, as many of their countries were services under the quotas of the metropoles, and others were caught by the racist restrictions against people of Asian heritage, regardless of their place of birth or port of origin.

The Contemporary Situation

The 1960's represent a significant period for black people. It was the period of incubation of modern black liberation. In Africa and the West Indies it was a period of the birth of many nations; and in the United States it was the period of great advancement in civil rights. It was also important because in 1965, partly out of sensitivity to these and other wide-scale changes in the world, the American government sought to liberalize its immigration policies and redistribute its quota system to bring greater equivalence to the two continents and recognize the newly established countries as legal sovereign sources of immigrants.

Voluntary migration has been a traditional characteristic of the Caribbean people since the middle of the last century. It has been directed toward areas of employment in times of economic difficulties, and to places with political flexibility during times of governmental crises. And it may well be that a migration-mobility syndrome has been absorbed into the ethos of the Caribbean people and as an inadvertent policy of their governments. Between 1820 and 1970 about 1 million, or 2 percent of the legal immigrants into the United States were from the non-Latin West Indies. Early large-scale migration of Jamaicans to the hemisphere's mainland under American auspices began with construction of the Panama Railroad in the 1840s. George Roberts, the West Indian demographer, indicates that 146,000 Jamaicans alone left for other parts of the hemisphere at the turn of the century, 46,000 going to the United States and the remainder to Panama, Cuba, and Central America to provide labor for American-owned enterprises. In 1970, of 373,326 immigrants to this country, 65,521 (18 percent) were from the West Indies. The number of legal immigrants from the area had more than quadrupled and its proportion had tripled in comparison to the 1960 figures, with Cuba, Jamaica, and the Dominican Republic each sending more than 10,000 legal immi-

grants to the United States shores. By 1973, 64,765 (16 percent) of 400,063 immigrants listed Caribbean islands as countries of birth.

State Department information suggests that the interest of Caribbean peoples in entering, and the probability of their entry into the United States, continues to run high. The data show that 40,092 immigrant and 135,747 non-immigrant visas were issued to applicants from independent states of the Caribbean in 1973. Moreover, political crises in Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic have contributed to major waves of refugees, some of whom have since become legal residents and even citizens of the United States. Puerto Ricans and Virgin Islanders, both Caribbean people but United States citizens as well, arrive by the thousands each year as migrants, seasonal workers, and settlers to the mainland. And from Mexico, Central America, Panama, Colombia, and Venezuela come many thousands more, many of whom may also be from the Caribbean littoral or of Caribbean ancestry, although we cannot verify this theory.

In addition to those Caribbean immigrants who entered the country legally as resident aliens, or who have since obtained that status, many others reside here as legal non-immigrants and others as illegal immigrants. The 1971 statistics show a total of 4,403,761 non-immigrants entering the country, of whom 403,299 were from the Caribbean islands. The figures on illegal immigrants are less reliable. Reports estimate two million illegal immigrants, mostly of Latin extraction, with the circum-Caribbean being a substantial contributor. A total of 417 persons from the independent states of the Caribbean region were deported and 5,005 more were forced to depart in 1973. It is significant that the overwhelming number of cases involving Caribbean people were categorized by immigration officials as those who "failed to maintain or comply with conditions of non-immigrant statuses," and "those who entered without proper documents." This usually means that they were found working without permission, or that they were discovered to have entered the country illegally in order to obtain gainful employment. To this end, it is instructive that most of the Caribbean migrants were not expelled as security risks, vagrants, wards of the state, insane, incapacitated, addicts, or criminals. However, increasing reports of aliens' becoming involved in dramatic crimes—including people from the Caribbean—and reports of their entry into crime syndicates in the larger coastal urban cities suggest a change in the relationship between illegal entry and gainful employment as its major motivation.

In the larger picture of Caribbean-United States migration patterns, the islands of Puerto Rico and the American Virgin Islands constitute very special cases. While they share language, racial composition, cultural identity with some parts of the Caribbean, they enjoy significantly higher GNP, per capital income, rates of employment, and other economic stan-

dards than their neighbors. As overseas Federal jurisdictions, these two Caribbean states play ambivalent roles. On one hand, they are the sources of another form of internal migration into the United States mainland; on the other, they are targets of heavy alien immigration as well. Present arrangements prevent precise knowledge of the nature and composition of either population flow. Some of the alien migrants are of legal status; others are not. Eventually some become citizens, many never. It can be surmised, however, that a high proportion consists of persons who use the islands as interim places of sojourn from which they will depart in one or two generations, as an alternative to the one-step direct movement of other migrants from other parts of the Caribbean. Finally, Puerto Rico and the American Virgin Islands have become important targets of mainland expatriates and tourists who add numbers and complexities to the density, ethnicity and internal political problems of these non-sovereign island states.

Caribbean Immigrants—the New Linkages They Represent

Who exactly these Caribbean immigrants are is not fully known. However, in each of the past two years more than two-thirds of those entering with resident status have been from Cuba, Jamaica, and the Dominican Republic, in that order, with Trinidad-Tobago and Haiti exchanging fourth and fifth places. The highest proportion of these fell in the category of spouses, children and other dependents. In terms of employment categories, the highest numbers of non-English-speaking among these immigrants were classified as operatives, and the highest number of English-speaking as private household workers. Information on emigration from the islands along local occupational categories is unavailable. The United States categories, though not definite, are nevertheless suggestive. A local study shows a higher proportion of immigrants coming from Jamaica, as of 1960, to be in the medical or supportive fields. These professionals were really exiled Cubans sojourning in Jamaica, but later they were succeeded by Jamaicans themselves who, while highly paid at home by island standards, earned much more in the United States, even when usually confined by absence of certification of residencies in public hospitals. It is alleged that former Jamaican Prime Minister Shearer, on one visit to the United States, complained of the depletion of the island's police force and reserve corps which were responding to recruitment by U.S. security agencies for jobs as private guards. Another local expert has observed from selected data that there were both upward shifts in the lower categories and downward shifts in the near higher categories of occupations by immigrants after one year of residence. All these examples suggest patterns of recruitment and allocation, of mobility and reversals, and alienation or identity among

immigrants which may have some correlation with specialized training, linguistic abilities and, perhaps, sex and race. They also imply intricate relations between migration and differences in development, opportunity structures, and mobility between target and host societies.

As a selection of people, Caribbean immigrants represent a highly motivated and mobile group, disposed to run risks, pursue sacrifices, and engage in ingenious activities to accomplish their life goals. Such dispositions and aspirations often precede their decisions to come to the United States, and in the case of the middle class may have been partially realized at home. Coming to the United States often means that these immigrants have taken various preparatory steps, investment gambles, and personal involvement in uncomfortable and humiliating experiences in order to pass consular requirements, in addition to meeting the conventional standards of the local folk customs themselves. Like their European counterparts, Caribbean immigrants regard the United States as a pre-defined, personal frontier. Hence they are desperately eager to obtain jobs, begin to pay debts, establish independence, and provide an image of gratefulness and enterprise in the eyes of their sponsors. However impresssed they may have been at home with the notion of opportunities, luxuries, and leisure of American life, they are often not acquainted in American terms with the status, prestige or profitability of the first jobs they occupy. But much of this does not matter since the patterns of consumption they practice on arrival differ from those of their indigenous American counterparts. Furthermore, unless of the broadly defined "middle class" who enjoy the services of maids, nurses, gardeners, and chauffeurs at home, many of these people come to this country with a background of hard work, unemployment without welfare, or underemployment, low pay, and relative deprivation of many things which native Americans consider commonplace. The usually agrarian, small-scale societies from which they come lead them to be very interested in the ownership of land and other stationary properties, to dislike having outstanding debts, and to fear the disgrace of deportation or imprisonment. They come, then, already disposed to the Protestant ethic, with faith in the American Dream, and often succeed in becoming part of the local stable working or middle class within their lifetimes.

The experience of the Carribbean immigrant is underscored by a special version of invisibility and inequality. The American perception of Caribbean immigrants often leads to their being associated with the already establish categories of visible, low-status native-born ethnic groups in the United States. Unlike the many visible European immigrants who tend to disappear quickly into the mainstreams upon becoming minimally acculturated and successful, these alien blacks, browns, Latin or Amerindians experience a form of continued institutionalized racism and minority

status to which they are often unaccustomed. This has resulted in their ethnic idiosyncrasies' being ignored and their specific problems and contributions remaining unattended relative to their white peers. This, in turn, leads to a sense of alienation or type of ambivalence with respect to the conflicting situation in which they are located. Such immigrants may continue to applaud the new opportunities made available to them in the American system, while harboring an intensely critical and antagonistic feeling toward the country for the bitter, degrading racial and social discrimination they suffer. These foreigners are inclined to voice certain criticisms of their native ethnic peers for their failure to take advantage of opportunities and to be more aggressive and enterprising. And their native-born counterparts have responded to the foreign black presence—the competition it constitutes, and the differences in culture, style and standards it represents—with mixed emotions. Yet the overwhelming racist and sometimes exploitive situations which the immigrants also meet often sensitize them to the injustices and contradictions of the system, thus explaining in part their noticeable participation and roles of leadership in ethnic politics and protest organizations. Likewise, repatriates and correspondents among the migrants really serve as inadvertent validators of both the image of opportunity and the legacy of racism-exploitation associated with the United States in exaggerated terms of unlimited wealth and unrelenting racism. And, from the standpoint of some scholars, their shift in locality from home to the U.S. metropolitan centers does not remove them from the experience of neo-colonial subordination, but may introduce them to institutional racism quite distinct from the ethnic or class discrimination they experienced at home or in other metropolitan states.

The advancement of West Indians in the United States speaks perhaps most highly for the immigrants themselves, the untapped human potential they represent, the socioeconomic stagnancy, dependency status, and demographic-economic dilemma of their home region, and the relatively open and fluid opportunity structure of American society. But more seriously, it raises the perplexing question as to whether Caribbean immigration into the United States represents a *safety valve* or *brain drain*. Perhaps it constitutes both, and in the final analysis is more complicated than the question put forward. Perhaps the observation of an American economist that there is a near equivalence between persons leaving the country of El Salvador (Central America) and those rural people moving into its capital city may hold for the Carribbean societies as well, thus having a precarious s..fety value function for immigration. Randolph Palmer, the Jamaican economist, has observed that the point of highest out-migration for the Caribbean seems to be the point of greatest capital inflow and that the out-migration of young, ambitious and daring women and also trained

professionals—the productive elements of the society—is being accompanied by the increasing presence of white expatriates: investors, high-level technologists and "super" administrators in the islands. In fact, the impressive leadership and wide range of successes of West Indian immigrants and their first generation of American-born offspring suggest that emigration has a projected loss of human resources built into it for the societies from which they originally came. Even then, there is no guarantee that in their homelands they would have been discovered and allowed to excel. Davidson, a British demographer, has observed that migration reduced the load of the island economies to meet basic consumption needs of growing populations, but also warned that the present rate of economic development of the islands is unable to cope adequately with population growth.

West Indian immigrants must play interesting roles in the stabilization and development of their homelands. Among other things, they reduce the population congestion and growth, contribute remittances to unemployed and needy relatives, invest in family and small business projects at home, and represent models, contact, and support for other members of the family in the island who want to emigrate or come to the United States for more temporary reasons such as education, health, vacation, or refuge. They also have important economic and political significance. It is said that one incumbent Caribbean government received considerable absentee votes from those living abroad, some having double nationalities. In other cases, American branches of West Indian organizations have operated to mobilize, finance, and even plan political campaigns, emergency funds, charities, economic projects, and takeovers in the islands and surrounding areas from within the United States. Compared to some other immigrant groups, however, West Indians and other Caribbean groups have yet to develop extraordinarily powerful lobbies, seize control of special interests, or establish footholds in particular sections of the political or economic sector of the American society. In fact, their naturalization rate, a requisite for explicit and formal political activity, has tended to be low. Nevertheless, they comprise extra-national linkages of peoples and communities located in host and target societies—a level of linkage not normally the subject of academic or policy preoccupation in the United States.

Policy and Educational Implications

A casual prognosis suggests continued heavy entry of legal and illegal immigrants, as well as refugee populations into the United States from the circum-Caribbean region, repeated internal economic and political crises, and occasion eruptions of expressed antagonism toward different levels

of North American presence and power. The Caribbean countries, particularly the islands, have little choice but to continue with deliberate speed the pursuit of a feasible solution out of this increasingly vexing dilemma, an issue further complicated by the political considerations which loom high in their contemporary domestic and diplomatic situations. Indeed, the United States is in a powerful enough position, *vis-à-vis* most of these island states, to aggravate their situation, frustrate their efforts to resolve it, or force them into taking drastic steps which could alter their diplomatic relations with the United States and other world powers. Similarly, it is in a position to help them try to tip the scale in a positive direction. This latter will not occur, however, without having a profound impact on the domestic public policies of the United States. Therefore, an American contribution will necessarily call for a commitment to (1) enhancing its own economy so that it can embrace both its poor visible national minorities and the foreign work force within its borders, while at the same time pursuing a cooperative association with Caribbean states toward the development of viable regional and indigenous economies in those islands that will be able to accommodate their growing populations and stabilize out-migration; (2) continuing to maintain a policy of open doors to hard-pressed immigrants from the region, even though they may be of non-Caucasion stock or non-European ancestry; and (3) appreciating the adoption by island governments of regional and local policies which reorient their people along lines of more humanistic values and socialistic lifestyles and with economic policies which try to provide full development of local industries including processing, transportation and marketing, utilization of local management, technology and proprietorships, and promoting broader redistribution of employment, wealth, and social benefits, while pursuing only the most reasonable programs of population control.

The future of the Caribbean region cannot be taken simply, and any United States action to anticipate or influence it will require not *unilateral, conventional practices* but cooperative, creative interactions on various levels. Granting all the political complications it raises, it seems nevertheless necessary to propose that the urgency with which governments of the entire circum-Caribbean region (including the United States) must begin to think, is in terms of a new Pan-Caribbean concept which can lead to overreaching or linking technical and mediating (non-U.S. dominated) international structures or projects which would allow attendance to a broad range of relevant policy questions and development projects of genuinely common regional interest. Before it assumes reality or takes form, such relations would have to attend to some tantalizing legal, economic and political challenges. Some of these steps may require departure from the traditional priorities and concepts but, by the same token, they hold hope for restructuring status and relations within the Caribbean area.

and between it and the rest of the international community. In addition, they may provide the stage for the evaluation of new concepts and directions in international relations between small or less developed states and larger, developed metropolitan centers in the area. Whether located within or outside these Pan-Caribbean structures or schemes, the United States will have to view these developments in a larger perspective which would allow it to strike some balance between its commitments and interests at home, in the Caribbean, and on the larger international scene.

Obviously then, the question of recent emigration suggests some directions for action on the part of the governments of the region themselves, and also of the professional members of their educational enterprises. The challenge of arriving at some judicious and feasible political-economic formula must be met individually or regionally by these governments. And it must involve reordering the relationships among the following variables: population growth, population movement, productivity and distribution of products and wealth, mass employment, standards of living and rising expectations (including education for professional and technical careers), the extraterritorial properties of nationality and ethnicity linkages, and alternative targets of migration. More specifically, any effort by a given Caribbean government to develop policy in recognition of the out-migration of its people as a continuing reality, and its explicit desire to encourage, institutionalize and benefit from continued linkages between such emigrants or their offspring and the homeland, will necessarily have to direct some of its energies to reevaluating its educational policies and priorities.

Among specific areas that would merit redirection in order to cope with the Caribbean demographic-economic emigration syndrome, are the following: (1) teaching of the political history, national character and aspiration, and economic-demographic difficulties of their nation and region; (2) teaching of the historical, actual and projected role and potential of their country and its population in international affairs, world economy, and the linkages and shared identity with people of similar ethnicity, or colonial experience; (3) teaching of the past, actual and alternative target societies of emigration —their histories, geographies, societies and cultures, especially the experiences, difficulties and opportunities for immigrants, teaching of particular visible immigrants and visible native minorities, and teaching of the achievements and contributions of earlier Caribbean migrants to host and source societies, or to the world; (4) updating technical and linguistic preparation of potential emigrants, as well as of psychologically oriented programs designed to engender adjustability and ambition, dignity and sense of civil rights, fortitude and sense of priorities and directions, discipline and sense of nationality and ethnicity, special identity and cooperation with groups similar in economic status or regional

origins, and skills and insights for protection against exploitation and urban-oriented dangers; (5) cooperation with metropolitan school systems, especially those operating in localities of high concentration of Caribbean immigrants and offspring, in the wise selection and inclusion of (a) materials, themes and methods which are relevant to its immigrant population and of potential utility for successful advancement in either their traditional or new homelands, and (b) languages, social background and scientific knowledge of the original countries of these immigrants; (6) cooperation in programs of research and recruitment or personal exchange with metropolitan labor and educational agencies toward identifying and encouraging temporary or permanent services of various levels of expertise and specialization acquired by expatriates and overseas students from the Caribbean region; and (7) technical contribution to efforts by home governments to improve economic development, distribution of wealth, standards and economic opportunities, reasonable population control, and other factors which would make home society more attractive to its citizens.

Surely each of these considerations is subject to criticism and further development. In fact, the list itself may be enlarged. However, as was stated initially, these considerations are not intended as conclusions but suggestions which, at minimum, may encourage further discussion and debate among us here today.

Information and Economic Development

Jean Jacques Honorat

Since the end of World War II economic development has become a matter of major international concern, and the concept of planning, originally introduced into both the economic and political literature by the socialist system—as opposed to the *laissez-faire* of traditional liberalism—has imposed itself throughout the years as a *sine qua non* in the process of transforming the living conditions of human societies. And nowadays, in France as well as in India, in both Chinas as well as in Africa or in Latin America, planning has become a common word of everyday governmental vocabulary, to the extent of being wittingly misused by demagogues who conspicuously place under the canopy of so-called X-ennial plans (quadri-, quinque- or what not) the carelessness and the irrelevance of their national—or rather antinational-polities. Hence the necessity of a clear definition of planning before we touch the very topic of today's presentation.

Planning is by no means—as it has in many cases proved to be—a combination of idealistic views with mathematical techniques where theories on social welfare and projections of extrapolated statistics get together to express the formulation of some overimposed ideological utopia. It is, instead, a realistic and voluntary process whereby a society decides to move from situation "A" to situation "B" and sees in advance what will be and how to provide the ways and means to reach the proposed objectives. To plan, therefore, is to set societal goals and to indicate in advance the steps that will have to be taken in order to implement the self-imposed program.

In order to plan adequately, it is necessary to possess at all times true, detailed, precise, and realistic information:

—on the facts which compose the situation at point "A." This calls for a comprehensive inventory of the natural resources in order to determine the potentialities of the nation's economy;

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—on the elements which are to be met at point "B." This information is to reflect a thorough diagnosis of the society's needs and a careful selection of those to be gradually attained as the strength of the economy develops. Such diagnosis and selection will allow the planners to set forth a schedule of priority which delineates the stages of the economic plan;

—on the ways and means that can and must be made available if the society is ever to attain its self-imposed objectives. This series of information relates to sources of financing capital as well as to the choice of techniques and the evaluation of manpower requirements.

At all three steps of planning, whether the question is of knowing the wealth or the needs in order to call for an orderly application of the relevant ways and means of development, information collection and diffusion play, as we shall see, a key role from both the national and the international standpoints. Everyone knows of the importance of the JERC (Japanese Economic Research Center) in modern Japan's economic architecture. Some nations have not hesitated to use very unorthodox methods—classified as economic espionage—in the constitution of their data banks.

Let us turn now to the Haitian case and illustrate the importance of information in this particular nation's struggle for development.

The Resources

As can easily be imagined, a country cannot pretend to develop beyond the possibilities of its natural resources. An inventory of those is therefore a prerequisite to the evaluation of the nation's potentialities for economic development. For a country like Haiti, such an inventory should at all times present an exhaustive and comprehensive picture of the situation as regards the soil, the subsoil and the sources of energy.

Only rough estimates are now available as to the quantity of land devoted to agriculture at present. According to the National Institute of Statistics (IHS) the figure would fluctuate around 1,920,000 acres. For Dr. F. LeBeau of the Instituto Interamericano de Ciencias Agricolas, Turrialba, it would be in the vicinity of 2,500,000 acres. Within those estimated totals, it is difficult to ascertain the amount of land occupied by staple crops on one hand, and by subsistence agriculture on the other.

Nor does anyone know with any degree of accuracy the quantity of non-cultivated soil that could be reclaimed for agriculture. Equally unknown are the actual effects of physical land destruction by erosion, as well as the consequence of chemical degradation through salts and alkalis.

There is also a complete blackout regarding the quality of the soils. No

systematic, detailed and comprehensive survey is available on the land's pedological situation and chemical needs.

Such information is obviously indispensable, if one is to think of ever improving the quantity and the quality of our agricultural production.

Though agriculture seems likely to remain the most important asset of the Haitian economy, it may well be suggested that the possibility of some meaningful mineral discovery must never be discarded inasmuch as prospections of Haiti's subsoil have been neither complete and exhaustive nor definitely conclusive of its natural poverty. On the contrary, bauxite and copper have been located in sufficient quantities to attract French and American investors. It is not to be taken for granted that those would be the only metallic ores existing in our underground. No effort should be neglected to investigate thoroughly every secret layer of this land's volcanic geology. The recent creation of the Institute of Mineral Resources (INAREM) leaves room for big hopes. Let us wish that it be endowed with the necessary means and power to carry out all the important duties for which it has been created.

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Energy being the main basis of industrialization and of daily life, information on all possible sources of power is another type of knowledge that is indispensable to development planners. Specific inquiries should be conducted at all times to reveal in detail all possible sources of hydroelectricity, as well as any other *energetic* elements that could be made available. Besides the importance of such research in a process of industrialization, it may also be observed that it would have a tremendous impact on erosion control insofar as the adoption of any other source of energy for domestic purposes would immediately stop the production of charcoal which is by far the main cause of our land's drastic deforestation.

The Needs

A catalog of the needs of a society is reflective of a preliminary definition of development itself. In other words, it reflects the very ideological conception of development.

In the past few decades since the invention of such words as Third World and Underdevelopment, economists, scholars of all disciplines and political circles have almost unanimously considered Western Civilization as the paragon of man's development and the superlative form of evolution of mankind. Underdevelopment, it was said, is the consequence of "primitiveness," and all peoples of the world were to be convinced of the

necessity of adopting the western patterns of civilization, if they ever wanted to bite a decent piece in the steak of progress. Consequently, development was identified as deculturation and westernization, and was to be measured by the ability of the "primitive"—that is, the non-western-part of the world to fill the statistical gap between their backwardness and the material performances of the white western system of values. Through all methods of brainwashing, through scientific dogmas as well as publicity media, the western way of life—and more and more the American way of life—was labelled and presented as the most perfect and the exclusive expression of humanity.

Most fortunately, the success of such theories is in rapid decline and the concept of development is paying decreasing attention to the imposition of worldwide ethnocide, thus according more and more recognition to the validity of the systems of values of all civilizations. This means that all peoples of the world, regardless of race, color, or beliefs, are all capable of gaining access to material and spiritual progress in accordance with their respective cultural patterns, without the interference of any kind of depersonalizing oppression and in full harmony with their specific ecological environment. Specialists have wrapped up this new concept in a newly invented word: ecodevelopment.

As a consequence, increases of the Gross National Product or of the Investment Ratio are now being considered as incapable of indicating alone the true developmental needs of the societies. It is indeed nothing but ironical to call development an increase of the richness of the very few corresponding to a worsening of the poverty of the vast majorities. Along with the mathematical indicators of economic growth, there is no development if the new society is not governed by equal distribution of wealth, equal distribution of welfare and equal distribution of culture.

The Haitian case is perhaps one of the most typical examples where global statistical performances acquire absolutely no significance when compared with the dreadfully unequal distribution of revenues. For the past decade, Haiti's GNP or GDP have been showing steady and healthy increases of from four to seven percent per annum. The global figures omit indicating that they include the American-owned assembling industries that have mushroomed around Port-au-Prince during the past ten years and whose contribution to Haiti's basic economic life is practically nil.

In counterpart to those triumphant statistics, a breakdown of the distribution of the coffee export revenues over a period of 20 years[1] will show and explain altogether the steady "development of the underdevelopment" of our people:

[1]C. Manigat, C. Moise, E. Ollivier, *Haiti, quel développement?*, p. 65.

Years	Average fob	Government		Intermediaries		Peasants	
1951-53	$104.7	$16.8	16%	$14.11	13%	$73.6	71%
1964-66	83.0	26.4	32%	20.2	24.8%	36.3	43.6%
1967-70	80.20	26.8	34%	18.8	23.2%	34.5	42.7%
1971	85	27.25	32%	28.75	34%	29.0	34%

It must be remembered:

—that coffee is the main export staple crop of Haiti;
—that the Government distributes its portion of revenues to employees recruited among members of the urban elite;
—that the intermediaries include 24 exporters and around 1,000 speculators who form the chain of the coffee trade;
—that at least 25% of the active peasantry, thus around half a million people, base their living upon the coffee market.

Another series of figures will perhaps be more expressive. One *carreau* (=3.2 acres) of reasonably good land in the best present conditions of exploitation provides a monthly revenue of not more than $16.80 or approximately $200 per annum. In contrast, the revenues of the urban population of Port-au-Prince show the following scale per annum:[2]

Annual revenue per family	Number of families	Percentage
$ 0 - 240	51,100	38.7
241 - 480	39,000	29.6
481 - 720	18,000	14.3
721 - 960	8,000	6.1
961 - 1200	4,100	3.1
1201 - 1440	2,300	1.7
1441 - 1680	1,000	0.7
1681 - 1920	600	0.4
1921 - 2160	400	0.3
2161 - up	6,800	5.1
TOTAL	132,200	100%

[2]*Plan de développement de Port-au-Prince et de sa Zone Métropolitaine* (Project HAI/SD 1970 CONADEP/TPTC Nations Unies/PADCO contractant), Vol. I, Phase II, May 1975, page 15.

N. B.: Estimated total urban population (including Petion-Ville and Carrefour): 638,000 inhabitants.

It may be worthwhile to underline that over 70% of the rural population is concentrated on pieces of land of less than one *carreau* in size, whereas the revenues of the upper 5.8% of the urban population vary from $1,680 to $10,000 per annum.

These are the kinds of figures that should be taken into account, if development is to be planned for the benefit of the people instead of for the enrichment of the thin upper classes in the capital cities of the Third World.

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In order to plan and organize an equal distribution of welfare planning, specialists will likewise have to possess detailed and precise information regarding the people's nutritional and medical needs.

It is, for instance, cynical nonsense that Haiti should export 1,762,381 pounds (FY 1972-73) of meat per year through the good offices of the Haitian American Meat Production Company (HAMPCO), while over 80% of the Haitian population suffer from lack of protein in their daily diet.

As regards nutrition, another point to be observed involves the modes of consumption. One example will illustrate the situation. Instead of encouraging a technological effort for the purpose of improving the quality of the corn bread (doukounou) and of the cassava bread (cassave) and making them comparable in quality to white wheat bread, our society has preferred to accept the foreign commodity and has promoted it so fervently and so extensively that nowadays the most humble peasant—previously a great consumer of cassave or doukounou—proudly eats white wheat bread and accepts the fact as a sign of progress. Consequently, the production of cassava is in notable regression, that of corn has lost an important market, whereas the nation imports over two million dollars' worth of Canadian or American wheat per year. The same kind of prejudice—that is, the same passion for foreign modes of consumption—extends itself to all kinds of commodities, which brings the amount of imported foodstuffs up to 40% of our total import trade.

Very similar is the situation that confronts the provision of public health. Here again the question must be raised in terms of both the quantity and the basic orientation of the service to be distributed. As a matter of course, no convenient health service can be rendered with a ratio of one medical doctor to over 10,000 inhabitants (1971). It is well known that there are more Haitian doctors practicing abroad than in Haiti. From 1960 to 1968, for example, the National School of Medicine graduated 386 physicians of which only 127 remained in Haiti. Moreover, of the estimated 344 (1971) who are rendering services in their homeland, 244 (71%) work in the capital city.

But the other—and I am inclined to say the main—aspect of the question implies the type of medical service which is most urgently needed by our people. In Haiti, as in other "underdeveloped" countries, medical problems seem to be prophylactic rather than therapeutic. In other words, what the people actually need seems to be preventive rather than curative medicine. If this is correct, the emphasis should then be placed upon forming "barefoot medical assistants" recruited among the peasantry and therefore at all times more eager, willing and able to live with the people, instead of white collar medical scientists who are condemned within the liberal system to become highly commercialized specialists accessible only to the very few.

In this connection it may be of interest to note that there does exist in Haiti a network of "docteurs-feuilles" (herbal doctors) who are experts in the art of folk medicine. The tendency among westernized scholars is to look down on them and regard their traditional skill as contemptible witchcraft and shameful backwardness. It is my strong feeling that, on the contrary, they ought to be included in a dynamic system of technological exchange where western medical science could be combined with their unquestionable knowledge of physiotherapy for the benefit of the vast majority of our people.

The third category of needs that must be clearly identified for development purposes is that involving a democratic distribution of education.

The quantity of schools and teachers necessary for the task of general education is, as paradoxical as it may look, a subsidiary question which is to be solved gradually as the economy picks up and as the effects of economic growth are equally distributed. More important is the decision as to the quality of education to be provided. History has not proved that a non-educated people is a deterrent to economic growth, but it is definitely admitted that an ill-educated population is an insurmountable obstacle to development.

As we have said earlier, development does not imply imposition and acceptance of western cultural patterns. Education, consequently, should in no way be synonymous with alienation and assimilation.

Hence our search for authenticity. Hence the concept of Haitianity. This simply means that—without denying in any way the western segment of our culture whilst accepting with equal respect the validity of black consciousness and the values of negritude, without rejecting the contribution of culture, science and technology from whatever part of the world they may come—we of this generation advocate that it is more than time for young Haitians to learn about the economy, the sociology, the geography of their homeland than about the prowesses of Julius Caesar or Napoleon and the magnificence of Timbuktu. We further argue that it is time for us to stop dreaming of Paris or New York and of mythical Guinea,

and start deciding to do something with and for our own piece of land. This is the type of education that our people now need so that the vocations and aspirations of young Haitians may conform more precisely to the professional needs and laborpower requirements of the nation's development.

The Means

In order to attain the objectives of the development programs, the planners must also set out the ways and means that are to be made available at every stage of the progressive endeavor. In other words, as indicated earlier, they need information as to the sources of financing, the technological responses, and the manpower involvement in the development process.

Development, as universally admitted, requires increase of the economic strength. But there is no development not based upon self-generated and self-sustained economic growth—that is, upon investment and constant reapplication of self-accumulated capital into the nation's economy.

In all "underdeveloped" nations—and in Haiti in particular—accumulation of capital is impossible because the economy is dependent on and solidly tied to the economy of the dominant—mostly western—nations.

The consequences of this dependence are manifold.

As long as the economy is dominated by foreign interests, all the profits made upon the overwork of the labor force are immediately reexported. Since the dependent nation produces only what is needed by the dominant economy and nothing for the needs of its own people, economic life is largely based upon the import-export trade. Thus the accumulation of deficits due to permanent deterioration of the terms of exchange, and the constant exportation of currency, due to inflation, for imported commodities, and to the ever-increasing price of foreign services such as insurance and freight as well as passenger transportation costs.

Therefore, there can be no development without liberation from all foreign economic influences. This does not imply any kind of nationalistic xenophobia or systematic rejection of all forms of foreign participation in a nation's developmental efforts. It does mean, however, that such foreign contribution—whether private, public or multinational—can only be marginal and inserted within the programs of the national development plan.

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The technological problem has in the past few decades proved to be one of the major challenges to the progressive efforts of the Third World. It is universally admitted that culture must exert a technically-effective

action upon nature in order to adequately produce nurture. Accordingly, the Haitian peasant—or the peasant of any undeveloped nation—by using rudimentary agricultural techniques which correspond to the scientific concepts of another age, has greatly contributed to the deterioration of the land, to erosion, thus to the impoverishment of the nation. It is equally true that the blind importation of sophisticated western techniques—created for the natural and economic conditions prevailing in the western world—and their application to the ecology of the undeveloped nations, have patently displayed their irrelevance and their inability to solve the technological dilemma of the poor nations. This unfitness is clearly exemplified by the blatant failure of the so-called Technical Assistance supplied over the past 25 years by the western powers either directly or through the good offices of international aid agencies.

We of the "underdeveloped" world do need to be informed of the technical performances of the western world as long as they can be adapted to the conditions of smallness and paucity of our economy. But we mostly need to know about the technical research and achievements accomplished in the other nations of the Third World where ecological conditions are more similar to ours. We Haitians must look for information on all experiments and data accumulated in the Caribbean Islands, in Africa or in Asia in the fields of agriculture, fisheries, cattle raising or light industries. Thus the necessity of our affiliation to any data exchange system functioning among those parts of the world.

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If Man—his material and spiritual welfare and the full blooming of all dimensions of his human values—represents the main objective and the finality of development, he remains at the same time the principal and most effective agent of his own societal evolution. Human resources are indeed one of the main assets of self-generated economic growth. In countries of the Third World where financial resources are scarce for the reasons outlined above, the contribution of manpower is of prime importance to all public or private development projects, if they are to produce the necessary induced and multiplying effect.

Information on the managerial, professional, semi-professional and labor force requirements is indispensable to those who are responsible for enforcing the national development programs. And it is their duty to see to it that those requirements are met within the plan at the needed time and at the necessary stage of the evolutionary process. Global population statistics are one thing that is indispensable for a society to know what to plan for. Specific vocational and aspirational requirements are other important data for those who have to know in advance what to work with.

Thus the necessity for a national research center and of a technical data bank.

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In lieu of conclusion I should like, if I may, to make a brief comment on another area where information exchange may acquire vital interest in a small nation's quest for progress. Development, as must have become obvious to you, is a matter of policy. As such it is inevitably a matter of politics, of political choice, of political decision. Hence the impossibility of avoiding the political issue.

As we have seen, development fundamentally means equitable distribution of wealth. Somewhere and somehow along the process, important interests will have to be hurt: those of the very thin segments of the population who have always been favored by the traditional distribution of revenues.

It also means liberation from economic colonialism. Consequently, all foreign economic domination will have to be eliminated, whether represented by powerful transnational firms or by traditional beneficiaries of the import-export trade.

Clear and precise information will therefore have to be released throughout the world so that international public opinion may be protected against all attempts at misguidance and be well aware of the true character of the conflicts. Thus only can the cause of development gain the indispensable support of all peoples of North America, of the Caribbean and of the rest of the world. By setting up these inter-Caribbean-North American programs of scholars' exchanges, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, in my opinion, is already contributing immensely to the formation of that international public concensus and brotherhood. My final word will be of congratulations for such an intelligent, generous, long-sighted, and highly commendable endeavor.